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IN WEST OXFORD

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IN WEST OXFORD

*Historical Notes and Pictures concerning the
Parish of S. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford*

including

THE PARISH CHURCH OF S. THOMAS

OXFORD CASTLE

OSENEY ABBEY REWLEY ABBEY

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF S. GEORGE-IN-THE-CASTLE

GLOUCESTER COLLEGE, ETC.

Edited by Thomas W. Squires

124 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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DEDICATED

TO MY WIFE, SON, AND DAUGHTER
IN GRATITUDE FOR HELP AND ENCOURAGEMENT
WITHOUT WHICH THIS MODEST BOOK
MIGHT NEVER HAVE BEEN FINISHED

AND

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS HOWARD BIRLEY, D.D
LORD BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR
VICAR OF S. THOMAS THE MARTYR, OXFORD
FROM 1896 TO 1908
YEARS THAT ARE STILL GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY
REMEMBERED
BY SO MANY OF HIS FORMER PARISHIONERS

PREFACE

THIS little work has obviously no claim to be a history of the parish of S. Thomas', Oxford, but is merely a collection of notes and pictures gathered together during the course of many years.

When I began to take an active interest in the past history of this parish I naturally sought first the many books on Oxford issued for visitors. There is no lack of these, and many are extremely well prepared in both the literary and pictorial sense, but one and all dismiss the west part of Oxford with a very few lines. This, though disappointing, was, I perceived, quite reasonable, for the many magnificent buildings 'up in the town' legitimately claim all the space available in these 'guides' for the essential information desired by the innumerable visitors to Oxford.

The original idea in my mind did not extend further than providing a short story of the parish church only, but as I began to search here and there for historical notes and pictures I soon discovered that the church of S. Thomas the Martyr was relatively unimportant compared with many other buildings that used to exist, or whose remains still exist, within the boundary of S. Thomas' Parish. It is a curious fact that, although the original parish has been thrice reduced,¹ practically all the old historical buildings mentioned in the notes or illustrated by the pictures are, or were, situated within the square half-mile (or thereabouts) which form the present limits of the parish.

That so small an area should have once simultaneously included Augustinian Canons, Cistercians, Benedictines, and Carmelites is, or seems to be, a singular instance of a parish being literally crowded with monastic people.² These religious orders were possibly domiciled here deliberately, just outside the city wall, to secure the quiet and seclusion desired.

How and why Oxford first became a notable place of learning is perhaps not altogether remote from the history of this parish, for in the twelfth century there were famous scholars at S. George's-in-the-Castle, and schools were associated with Oseney quite early in its history; and so it may be that institutions in S. Thomas' Parish gave initiative, or encouragement, to the development of Oxford as a university.

To railway passengers, and in these days the continual stream of motorists from the West of England, as they inevitably pass through S. Thomas' Parish, it must be owned that the first impressions of Oxford are neither pleasing nor encouraging, and visitors hurriedly pass on towards Carfax. Yet here, where nothing is now seen but utilitarian railway stations, factories, insignificant streets, coal wharves, etc., was once the site of stately buildings with historical associations as interesting as those of any other group even in this famous city.

In some ways the Castle Mound is perhaps the most valuable historic memorial in Oxford, being the only external feature, as many still think, surviving to remind us of our Saxon forefathers. Though so familiar an object to residents and visitors who every day pass by it on their journey from the railway stations' district towards Carfax, probably but few people recall its associations with the long-past ages.

The Castle, too—especially the old Norman tower—for upwards of eight centuries has

¹ S. Paul's Parish was formed in 1835; S. Barnabas' in 1870; and S. Frideswide's in 1872. All these, to a very large extent, still remain in the civil parish of S. Thomas'.

² Beside these there were Canons Secular at the collegiate church of S. George-in-the-Castle, who afterwards became, through their association with Oseney, Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order.

been regarded as a feature of profound interest, even in Oxford with its wealth of ancient buildings. Its site and historical importance in relation to the country generally, its many changes of use and ownership, have maintained unceasing attention, at least among archaeologists.

Then, again, Oseney Abbey, described by good old Anthony Wood as 'one of the first ornaments of this place and nation,' and by another writer¹ as 'one of the grandest monastic piles of England'; while an eminent professor has said, 'Apart from questions of vandalism, the destruction of this [Oseney Abbey and subsequently] the first Cathedral of Oxford was an egregious piece of waste and folly. Such places have been only too much needed by the University—indeed the need was felt a few years after the destruction—and vast sums have been spent in the erection of immeasurably inferior buildings. If Oseney Abbey, with its crowd of beautiful outbuildings along the water side, had been converted into a college, it would have been of immense use, and every other college now extant insignificant when compared with it.'² The italicizing is mine, because the sentence serves so well to emphasize the point I have in mind. That such a series of magnificent buildings should ever have existed on a site so utterly different in its aspect to-day would exceed the possibility of belief but for the well-authenticated records of their grandeur which have been preserved.

All these buildings and many others with their interesting associations mentioned in the following pages claim far more expert knowledge and ability, in writing notes even, than is admittedly given here.

To provide just a human touch and relief to dry historical records I have ventured to intersperse here and there a few biographical notes of typical parishioners³ which I hope may prove acceptable to some readers.

No claim is made for discovering anything new as all, or nearly all, pictures and notes have their origin in other books and albums, and have been collected without, I trust, infringing any copyrights.

A short time ago in a review in *The Times* of a topographical work it was stated 'no one can write a worthy parish history unless he has acquired a good deal of knowledge of the history of administration and of law, and has skill in reading mediaeval handwriting.' As such qualifications can never be mine, I have lately hesitated whether I should continue my effort and bring it to a practical conclusion, or drop it altogether and hope that some day a scholar would come along and take up the subject with more satisfactory results. But as I disclaim any pretence of writing a parish history, and still think that the notes and pictures may interest many of my fellow parishioners and other friends, I at length decided to complete the task that I set myself to do.

Neither the notes nor the pictures are as numerous as was anticipated, or indeed possible, as both have been reluctantly, though necessarily, reduced in order to bring the book within the financial limits available for its production since, unfortunately, books on local topography rarely, if ever, I am told, find sufficient sales to cover the costs incurred. Whatever the result may be, the collection of these notes and pictures has ever been a matter full of interest, and an experience which I shall never regret.

August 12, 1928.

T. W. S.

¹ Father Goldie, S.J., *A Bygone Oxford*.

² Rev. Dr. Percy Dearmer, Professor of Ecclesiastical Art, King's College, London, in *Oxford, the Cathedral and See*.

³ With one exception, for Miss F. M. F. Skene, who though so very closely associated with S. Thomas' Church and Parish, lived just outside the parish boundary, in S. Michael's Street.

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To the several books I am indebted for reference or quotation a list is given at the end.

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T. W. S.

IN WEST OXFORD

I. S. THOMAS' PARISH CHURCH

EARLIEST YEARS

IN early Norman days the parish was called S. George's, after the church of S. George founded by Robert D'Oyley in 1074, within the precincts of Oxford Castle; and, strange as it may seem, so far as regards early history, more is known about the foundation of the older church of S. George¹ than that of S. Thomas, for, notwithstanding its close connection with Oseney Abbey, records concerning the foundation of the existing parish church are somewhat scanty, and, moreover, often perplexing.

Popular tradition has long held that S. Thomas' Church was built by the canons of Oseney Abbey for the parishioners of S. George's, when they were temporarily deprived of access to their usual place of worship within the castle grounds, owing to the siege by King Stephen in 1142.² Authority for this apparently rests upon an entry in the Oseney Abbey Register, viz. :

' 1142. During ye siege of ye Castle of Oxenford of King Stephen ye which Maud the Empress in ye said Castle long sieged, was built ye Chapel of Saint Thomas for ye parishioners of Saint George in ye Castle might not come nor enter, and it is to be known that it was built upon the fee of Saint Walerye upon ye half of ye 17 acres ye which to us gave Bernard of Saint Walerye as it is shewed by ye charter.'

The account of the parish church given by Oxford's famous topographer³ is somewhat confusing and uncertain in many details, but it implies that the church was built in 1142, and that it was called S. Nicolas, and after the siege terminated the building was closed for awhile. When reopened, or on some subsequent occasion, the church was rededicated in the name of S. Thomas of Canterbury. This view of the question agrees with others⁴ who claim that old references to S. Thomas' Church and to S. Nicolas' Chapel (or Church) are to one and the same building, viz. the existing parish church of S. Thomas. There was a tradition, too, that the building from the south door to the east end of the chancel represented the old church of S. Nicolas, while from the south door westward to the tower formed the portion dedicated in the name of

¹ See p. 62.

² See p. 58.

³ Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. ii. Ed. by Andrew Clark for the Oxford Historical Society.

⁴ Canon Chamberlain, *Memoir of S. Thomas' Church*; J. J. Moore, *Historical Handbook and Guide to Oxford*.

S. Thomas. However interesting these narratives and traditions may be, there are perplexities in their agreement with each other, and moreover they are difficult to reconcile with the evidence of more recent topographical research.¹

It should be remembered that the Oseney Register was not written until about 1284,² and as will be shown, what is there recorded concerning S. Thomas' Church in 1142 requires very careful consideration when examined with other historical documents. It will be perceived that the main points of the entry quoted from the Oseney Register are (1) the church was dedicated in the name of S. Thomas, (2) it was built during the siege of the castle in 1142, and (3) the site was on land bequeathed to Oseney Abbey by Bernard of St. Walerye.

In regard to the first, there can be no doubt as to the date of the martyrdom of Archbishop Becket, viz. December 29, 1170, and it would seem highly improbable that any church (or chapel) would be dedicated in his name so early as 1142. Secondly, it is not easily conceivable how such a church could possibly be built and used during the time of Stephen's siege which lasted only three months. Moreover, the church is situated practically within bowshot of the castle, and so would have been well within the sphere of war. Thirdly, it would also seem unlikely that the Oseney canons would build a church or chapel on land some thirty years before they were legal owners of the property, for the Bernard of St. Walerye bequest which conveyed this site to Oseney Abbey was not made until 1172.

As previously mentioned, the parish was originally called S. George's, the parish church being S. George's-in-the-Castle. About the thirteenth century the parish changed its name and is called in charters the parish of S. Thomas. Although the old name of S. George's Parish was occasionally used in Oseney rentals even as late as the fifteenth century, there can be no doubt that the parish church, and where the inhabitants were buried, was S. Thomas'. There are records, too, which mention a third building called the chapel of S. Nicolas.

In regard to the claim that S. Thomas' Church and S. Nicolas' Chapel were one and the same building, there is ample evidence to show that they represented places of worship quite separate from each other, though situated not far apart. Thus it is recorded that on May 23, 1225, at the chapel of *S. Nicolas* at Oseney there was an agreement with the Archdeacon of Oxford that the chaplain of the chapel of *S. Thomas* need not attend the chapters of the archdeacon, nor pay procurations nor synodals, but that he would attend the archdeacon's synods twice a year.

In an Oseney deed of October, 1225, among the witnesses' names are Walter de Brackell, chaplain of *S. Thomas*', and William de Edderbury, chaplain of the chapel of *S. Nicolas*. By another deed of 1271, Nicolas of Weston left

¹ See especially a most interesting and exhaustive account of the subject by the Rev H. E. Salter in his Introduction to *The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham* in Oxford Historical Society's Publications, vol. li. It is in this scholarly Introduction that Mr. Salter gives the many references to old documents that are quoted in the pages immediately following.

² Originally in Latin, and translated into English about 1460.

money to Thomas, chaplain of the chapel of *S. Nicolas* 'within the gates of Oseney,' and to Robert, chaplain of the chapel of *S. Thomas*.

In the record of a visitation of Oseney by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1520, the abbot, as was customary, produced various documents, including the episcopal charters in the right of which were held the appropriations of various churches, among which was *S. Thomas*, and the bishop's license 'for the building of a chapel before the gate of the monastery for celebrating divine offices for the servants and neighbouring parishioners.' This building was evidently distinct from the church of *S. Thomas*, and although no title is mentioned it may be confidently identified with the chapel of *S. Nicolas*. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹ of 1535 there are mentioned three chaplains in this parish, one being of 'S. George within the Castle,' another of 'S. Thomas within Oxford,' and a third of 'S. Nicolas within the monastery of Oseney,' each of them receiving a stipend of forty shillings.

From this consensus of evidence it would appear that from about the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century there co-existed in this parish no less than three churches or chapels for public worship, viz.:

The church of *S. George* within the Castle.

The chapel of *S. Nicolas* near the gate of Oseney Abbey.

The church (or chapel) of *S. Thomas*.

The story of the church of *S. George* is given in the chapter on Oxford Castle,² and an account of *S. Nicolas*' Chapel is included in the notes on Oseney Abbey,³ so that only *S. Thomas*' Church needs further investigation here. There is evidence that the building existed before 1200. About 1196, Oseney granted a messuage which was 'by the chapel of *S. Thomas*.' Richard, chaplain of *S. Thomas*, occurs in Oseney deeds between 1196 and 1198. In a deed of the time of Abbot Hugh, and therefore not later than 1205, there is mention of land near the chapel of *S. Thomas*. A Bull of Pope Honorius confirmed to Oseney Abbey the chapel of *S. Thomas*, 'even as you are in possession of it justly, canonically, and peaceably'; the deed is undated, but it must be between 1216 and 1222, for in the latter year a composition was effected between Oseney and the Archdeacon of Oxford which assumes that the chapel of *S. Thomas* belonged to Oseney and was the parish church of the district.

So far as the building of any chapel occurring at the time of the siege in 1142, the problem remains unsolved. If a chapel was built at that time for the use of parishioners at the west end of the parish it might have been *S. Nicolas*' at Oseney Gate, but not the building known as *S. Thomas*' Church.

From details given in the previous pages, there seems ample authority for assuming that *S. Thomas*' Church was founded during the latter part of the twelfth century, but how soon it supplanted *S. George*'s as the parish church is

¹ The name given to the official valuation of the ecclesiastical and monastic revenue made under Henry VIII.

² See p. 62.

³ See p. 90.

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¹ The name given to the official valuation of the ecclesiastical and monastic revenue made under Henry VIII.

² See p. 62.

³ See p. 90.

uncertain. Although the actual date and occasion of the foundation remain unknown, it may be suggested that as Thomas Becket had been a good friend and benefactor to Oseney, the canons would doubtless fully share the extraordinary feelings of devotion manifested everywhere towards his memory,¹ and it does not seem improbable that the Oseney monks built the church as a memorial to the most famous archbishop of the Middle Ages, within about twenty-five years of his martyrdom. Admittedly this is conjectural, as nothing to this effect is found in the Oseney Register; on the other hand, what is recorded there concerning this particular point is apparently inaccurate or incomplete. There can be little doubt, however, in regard to another interesting detail, viz. that Thomas Becket, as Chancellor of England, was with Henry II often at Beaumont Palace, and, if as a friend to Oseney, he most probably visited the Abbey, then in so doing he must have actually passed through the streets of a parish which now commemorates his name and martyrdom. Another conjectural point of interest is, that if S. Thomas' Church was consecrated between 1186 and 1200 by the bishop of the diocese² it would be the famous S. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, whose name is commemorated in the Prayer Book Kalendar on November 17th.

The present north and south walls of the chancel are doubtless relics of the original church, and three of the Norman windows³ still remain, one on the south and two on the north side. Possibly the east end of the chancel was entirely altered when the existing window of the 'flamboyant' style was erected late in the fourteenth century. This may have replaced an apsidal termination to the chancel, as at S. George's-in-the-Castle and some other Norman churches. Whether the original church extended westward beyond the chancel is uncertain, but apparently some sort of nave was added not later than the thirteenth century, and some lancet windows on the north side, as shown in Plate vi, seem to confirm this. It is conjectured that the south side of the present nave was built in the middle of the fifteenth century and the tower at about the same period, or a little later. There also existed, until about 1848, on the north side, a small chapel built, it is thought, about the same time as the tower.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

During the Reformation period but little is known about S. Thomas' Church. Served by the canons of Oseney, or by chaplains nominated by them, for a period of over three hundred years, the severance of the connection must have caused considerable changes; and doubtless the parish church, being so

¹ 'The cult of S. Thomas the Martyr remained for three centuries the most popular in England' (G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*)

² 'S. Giles' Church, Oxford, which was consecrated by the great S. Hugh . . . It dates from the end of the twelfth century' (J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges*)

³ Two of these windows, one on the north and that on the south, were discovered and reopened as late as the restoration of 1847-8. See p. 17.

near to, and so closely associated with, the abbey, shared some of the difficulties and deprivations involved just previous to, and during, the days of the dissolution of the monasteries.

When Henry VIII, about 1538, was waging war against the memory of S. Thomas of Canterbury, it was decreed 'that Thomas a Becket was no saint, but a rebel and a traitor; that he should no longer be called or esteemed a saint; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed; all festivals held in his honour should be abolished; and his name and remembrance erased from all documents, under pain of royal indignation, and imprisonment during his grace's pleasure.' It was apparently also decreed that this parish should bear the name of S. Nicolas¹ instead of S. Thomas, and in some deeds, from the end of the King's reign until recent years, the parish is described in legal documents as 'S. Thomas or S. Nicolas,' but it seems very doubtful whether the royal command was obeyed to any great extent.

In regard to the general pillage of churches by the commissioners of Edward VI, as it concerned the parish church here, interesting information has been preserved by way of the Inventory of Church goods made in 1552, which is printed here, with some of the Editor's notes bearing on the subject generally, and particularly, in one respect, concerning S. Thomas (in this matter called S. Nicolas).²

'In 1551' (the fifth year of King Edward VI) 'the financial embarrassment of the Government was very great. On 3rd March it was decided by the Privy Council "that for as much as the King's Majestie had need presently of a masse of mooney, therefore commissions should be addressed into all shires of Englande to take into the Kinges handes suche church plate as remaineth to be employed unto his highnes use."

'On 29th January, 1552, letters were sent to the Custos Rotulorum of each county requiring him to deliver the inventory which had been made under the commission of 1549. However, it was not until 16th May that a commission was issued to some of the gentry in each county under which they had power to view "all goodes, plate, juelles, belles and ornaments of every church and chapell," and "to cause a true, just and full perfect inventorye to be made of the same, and to compare the same with the best of the former inventories heretofore made and remayning with the said churchwardens, or suche other as then hadd the same in charge." They were bidden to inquire for everything which had been removed, embezzled, alienated, or diminished.'

INVENTORY, ST. NICHOLAS, OXFORD, 1552

Thys Inventorye yndentyd made the 11th daye of August 6 Edw. VI. of all the goodes plate juelles belles and other ornamentes perteynyng to the parysshe church of Saynt Nicholas

¹ In Canon Chamberlain's *Memoir of the Church of S. Thomas* it is stated that the building was rededicated in 1521 in the name of S. Nicolas, but an attempt to trace any diocesan official record of this in the old Lincoln Registers has been unsuccessful.

² *Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods for Oxfordshire*. Edited by Rose Graham, F.R.H.S. Alcuin Club Collections, No. xxiii.

yn the seyd cytye of Oxford betwene Raff Flaxney mayer of the seyd cytye Leonarde Chamberleyn John Denton and John Doyle Esquyers commysyoners wythyn the seyd cytye for the survey of the seyd goodes and other the premysse on thone partye and Sir George Waram preest parson of the seyd parysshe of Seynt Nycholas James Atwoodde and Nycholas Woodson parysshioners of the parysshe aforeseyd on thother partie Wytneseth that all the goodes hereafter wrytten are commytted by the seyd commysyoners to the custodie of the seyd Sir George Waram (James Atwoodde)¹ (Wyllyam Tylkokk)² and Nycholas Wooddesun whych they have undertaken shalbe at all tymes furthcomynge to be answered.

In primis a chalyce of sylver.

Item a vestment of blewe velvet.

Item a vestment of tawny³ velvet.

Item a vestymēt of redd damaske.

Item a vestment of whyte and blewe baudkyn.⁴

Item a cope of grene saten.

Item 2 copes of whyte and redd baudkyn.⁴

Item on the communion table a carpet of darnex⁵ and too lynen clothes to the same.

Item 3 surpleses.

Item 3 belles yn the tower, and a sanctus bell.

(Item delyvered by Wyllyam Tylcocke to the mayer for the relyef of the poore one chalyce and one pyxe of sylver and gylt and a pax of sylver and gylt of the value of 7 powndes 16 shyllinges and 6 pennys.)¹

Item gyven unto the bodey of the seyd cytye of Oxford wyth the whole concent of the parysshioners of the seyd parysshe one chalys of sylver and gylt weyynge 9 vncys (at 6s. 6d. the vnce to the valewe of 58s. 6d.).¹

Item one pyx of sylver and gylt gyven wyth the lyke concent weyynge 10 vncys (at 6s. 6d. the vnce to the valew of 3*li*. 5s.).¹

Item gyven by the lyke concent one pax of sylver and gylt weyynge 5 vncys (at syx shyllinges and 6d. the vnce to the valewe of 32s. 6d.).¹ Sum tot(al) 7*li*. 16s. to helpe to purchase londys for the relyeff of the poore people wythyn the seyd cytye from tyme to tyme for ever.

Item sold certeyn copes vestmentes and other ornamentes to sundry persons to the valewe of 20s. whych seyde 20s. was gyven to the poore people of the seyd parysshe at sundry tymes as nede dyd requyer.

(Signed) Wyllyam Tylcocke. Nicholas Woddesun.

It will be seen that, according to the above inventory, 'When the commissioners came to St. Nicholas, Oxford, they were told that, with the whole consent of the parishioners, a chalice of silver and gilt, a pix, and a pax⁶ had been sold for £7. 16s., with which land was bought and given to the city corporation as an endowment for the relief of the poor. As so extremely small a sum of plate, only fifty-four ounces of gilt and parcel gilt, with no white, is recorded as brought into the Jewel House by the Mayor, Ralph Flexney, with Leonard Chamberlain, Thomas Denton, and other commissioners, it seems possible that concerted action had been

¹ Struck through.

² Added above the line

³ Dull yellow colour.

⁴ A very rich material woven with a warp of gold thread or wire and a woof of silk; originally from Bagdad.

⁵ Cheap flaxen or other cloth made at Dornick (Tournai).

⁶ Pix—a vessel suspended over the high altar in which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved Pax—a tablet kissed by the priest and people at Mass after the *Agnus Dei*.

taken in the different parishes, and other plate had been sold for the same purpose as at St. Nicholas, before it could be confiscated for the King's use.'

'On 16th January, 1553, the Government appointed seven commissioners to seize the church goods, and they deputed the Oxfordshire commissioners of 1552 to carry out the instructions. With the intention that churches and chapels might be "furnysshedd of convenyent and comely things mete for the admynystracion of the Holy Communion" they had full power to leave one or two chalices according to the extent of the parish, a surplice or surplices for the ministers, and "honest and comely furniture of coveryngs for the communion table"; and when they had returned these ornaments to the churchwardens, to give "the residue of the linen ornaments and implements to the poor." As the surplice and rochet were alone ordered for the use of the bishop and the minister in the second Prayer-book which had come into use on 1st November, 1552, they had authority to sell "all and singular copes, vestments, altar cloths, and other ornaments not appointed to be distributed, and all parcels or pieces of metal," with the exception of great bells and "saunce" bells which the churchwardens were bidden to keep "unspoiled, unembesiled, and unsold" until the King's pleasure was further known. The money from these sales was to be paid over in London to Sir Edmond Peckham, and the plate and jewels collected and delivered to the Master of the Jewel House.'

One further point of interest at this period may be recalled here—William Tylcock, four times Mayor of Oxford,¹ whose memorial² is on the north wall of the chancel, lived during the reigns of four monarchs, viz. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He died in 1578, aged 74, and it will have been noticed that he was one of the parishioners to whom was committed the custody of the goods scheduled in the Inventory of 1552 as given above.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DR. BURTON : THE VICAR WHO BUILT THE CHURCH PORCH

Among past incumbents of this parish few, if any, are more famous and worthy of remembrance than Robert Burton who was vicar in the reigns of James I and Charles 'King and Martyr.' It may be well to recall here a few of the things that have been recorded about his life.

Robert Burton first came to Oxford in 1593, when he was seventeen years old, as an undergraduate of Brasenose College. In his youth he was said to be a very merry person. In 1599 he was elected Student of Christ Church, which indicates that he had a brilliant and successful career as an undergraduate. On November 29, 1616, he was instituted vicar of S. Thomas the Martyr's Church and Parish. The earlier period of his life was the time of many notable and stirring events for England, for instance, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the death of Queen Elizabeth, the great Hampton Court conference, and the Gunpowder Plot. In a list of great men of that time we find Sir Philip Sidney, Drake and Hawkins the gallant admirals,

¹ In 1560, 1566, 1568, 1575.

² See p. 28.

Sir Walter Raleigh, Bishop Andrewes, and, most famous of all, Shakespeare, so that life in those days must have been very full of interest.

After Robert Burton had been vicar of S. Thomas' five years, he issued a book which has ever since been accorded a permanent and special place in the history of English literature.

It was entitled *The Anatomy of Melancholy: What it is: With all the kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostickes, and several cures for it.* The author did not give his name, but described himself as 'Democritus Junior.' It was a bulky quarto volume, every page abounding with quotations from authors of all ages and countries, classics, fathers of the Church, medical writers, poets, historians, and travellers. It has been said 'there is an unique charm' about this book, 'one of the most fascinating in literature.'

When first published it seems to have been quite—as we should now say—'the book of the season,' its success was so pronounced and immediate. The author, in the preface to the fourth edition, wrote: 'The first, second, and third editions were suddenly gone, eagerly read, and not so much approved by some as scornfully regarded by others.'

Dr. Johnson, of dictionary fame, said it was the only book to get him out of bed two hours before his usual time. Byron wrote that in his opinion it was the most useful book for a man who desired the reputation of being well read, yet taking the least trouble to acquire it. It attracted learned men like Charles Lamb and Archbishop Herring. Yet for all this, it is to be feared that even then, as now, most men in Oxford University and elsewhere came to know of the book only from allusions to it by other writers, a book indeed that all scholars have heard about, but few have read.

So much for the volume which made Robert Burton famous. Now let us glean what we can from contemporaries about his personal character.

There is no doubt that he was what we should now call a very eccentric person. He had probably injured his health by long continuous reading and study, for undeniably he was a great scholar yet ever a student. Besides being very accomplished in languages, he was a clever mathematician, keenly interested and skilled in astrology, and took great delight in farming and other land interests. In disposition he was somewhat varied, for at times he was extremely cheerful, while on other occasions he would fall into such a state of despondency that, it is said, he could only get relief by going to Folly Bridge, where upon hearing the bargemen swear at one another 'he would set his hands to his sides and give way to most profuse laughter.'

Apparently he resided at Christ Church almost perpetually for some thirty years, living for the most part a somewhat secluded life. However, he was very proud of his connection with 'the House,' for in the preface to one edition of the *Anatomy* he wrote: 'I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life . . . in the University . . . to learn wisdom, penned up most part in my study. I have been brought up in the most flourishing college of Europe.

For thirty years I have continued a scholar . . . and would be, therefore, loth either by living as a drone to be an unprofitable or unworthy a member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be anyway dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation.'

It was in 1621 that he provided for the porch to be built on the south side of the parish church, and on the gable may still be seen the heraldic arms of the donor, carved in stone, over a small sun-dial.

In 1630 he was appointed rector of Segrave, Leicestershire, at the same time holding the incumbency of S. Thomas, and, as Anthony Wood says, he continued to occupy both offices 'with much ado, until his dying day.'

Some years before his death he predicted by astrology that he would die in his sixty-third year, and this proved to be true. However, gossip of the time hints that certain unfriendly people held that he laid violent hands upon himself in order that his prediction might not appear wrong. This report was undoubtedly false, for there is nothing of the kind recorded which could be considered authoritative. The statement of another writer, that Robert Burton was 'a person of great honesty, plain dealing, and charity,' may be readily accepted.

Besides building the church porch, there is another point specially associated with his incumbency at S. Thomas', which ought to be fully appreciated, viz. that he was one of the last priests to give up the use of wafer bread at Holy Communion in the seventeenth century when Church doctrine and practices were degenerating so sadly.

As vicar of S. Thomas', Canon Chamberlain is specially associated with the great Church revival in the nineteenth century, so his predecessor in the seventeenth century is associated with the continuance of a Catholic practice long after it was, alas! the custom to drift away.

Robert Burton died on January 25, 1639, and was buried in the Cathedral at Christ Church, where on a pillar near the north transept is a fine monument erected by his brother. The memorial includes his bust, coloured and carved in stone, with an epitaph compiled by himself. Here, as in his famous book, you will look in vain for his proper name, for he is still described as 'Democritus Junior.' There is a good portrait of him in the hall of Brasenose College, and given here in Plate xiv.

AN INCIDENT IN THE CIVIL WAR

An interesting detail of information concerning S. Thomas' Church is recorded in the diary of a young Royalist officer while quartered in Oxford during the Civil War of the seventeenth century, and it also provides an example of the wanton vandalism in churches by the Puritans of that period. The record says that—

'After the taking of Cirencester on February 2, 1642, by the Royalists many of the

captured Roundheads were brought to Oxford, and three hundred or thereabout of these prisoners were put into this church [of S. Thomas] and they brake some of the windows, and burnt some of the seats. They stayed from Monday to the Sunday following.' ¹

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. SOME CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS

At S. Thomas' the existing account books do not date back earlier than 1731, but contain much interesting matter. Space available in this little volume only permits the printing of one year's complete account of receipts and expenditure, with selected items from other years. In 1758-9 S. Thomas' Parish was far more like the country than the town. Open fields must have surrounded all sides except the east; and it should be remembered that it extended northwards to Binsey, westwards to Old Botley, and southwards to the limits of the great abbey of Oseney. These surroundings will explain why the churchwardens were expected to pay a reward for the catching of 'vermin of various kinds.' The queer spelling given in the original accounts has been followed here.

1758.

An Account of Money received by Richard Tawney and William Rowland, Church Wardens.

				£	s.	d.
Mar. 8.	Of the Old Church Wardens	-	-	1	2	6
April 30.	Of the Clarke for Braken the grown in the Church	-	-	1	3	4
May 3.	Of Mr. Coe for Quit Rent for his House	-	-	0	3	9
	Of Ralph Gray for a Year's Rent for his House	-	-	2	5	0
May 17.	Of Willm. Morgan for his House	-	-	0	1	3
	Recd. by a Single Tax made for the use of the Church ²	-	-	21	8	7½
	Of the Overseers for a Year's Rent for the Church House	-	-	20	0	0
				£46	4	5½

1758-9.

The Disbursements of Richd. Tawney and Willm. Rowland, Church Wardens.

				£	s.	d.
Mar. 28.	Paid for Bread and Beer at the Church House ³	-	-	0	3	4
April 12.	Pd. Richd. Payne for Laying Earl Child grave	-	-	0	2	0
May 6.	Pd. Richd. Paynes Laying of Carpenter's Daughter's grave	-	-	0	2	0
	Pd. May Day Dinner ⁴	-	-	1	0	0
	Pd. the Clarke a Year's Wages	-	-	1	1	0
May 22.	Pd. John Miland a Bill for Smith's work	-	-	0	5	6
June 13.	Pd. Ralph Gray for cleaning the Churchyard	-	-	0	2	6
„ 13.	Pd. for Earl's Child grave	-	-	0	1	6

¹ *Oxford Church Notes* made by Richard Symonds, 1643-4. Harleian MS., 964, in British Museum, printed in *Collectanea*, 4th series. Ed. by Rose Graham, F.R.H.S., O.H.S. Publications, vol. xlvii.

² The accounts give a list of just over one hundred names of property holders assessed at various sums ranging from 4½d. to £1. 10s. The 1759 Schedule is confirmed by John Bilstone, Surrogate, 'as far as the same is legal and just.'

³ For several years this is the first item in the Accounts. See p. 127.

⁴ An annual item.

S. THOMAS' PARISH CHURCH

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						£	s.	d.
June	14.	Pd. for being sworn in at St. Mary's	-	-	-	0	3	6
"	14.	Spent on Parish Business	-	-	-	0	1	0
"		Pd. at the Visitation	-	-	-	0	6	8
"	16.	Pd. for a Warrent to take up four men for Gameing on the Sabbath Day	-	-	-	0	2	6
"	17.	Pd. for Mr. Hill's Child's grave	-	-	-	0	2	0
July	7.	Pd. Richd. Payne a Bill	-	-	-	1	10	4
"	7.	Pd. for a Hedgehog ¹	-	-	-	0	0	4
"	16.	Pd. Wm. Wells who lives in St. All Dates Parish for 5 Pole Catts ¹	-	-	-	0	2	6
"	24.	Pd. the said Wm. Wells for 3 Pole Catts	-	-	-	0	1	6
Aug.	4.	Pd. Mr. Hawkins a Bill for Carpenter's work	-	-	-	2	8	1
"		Pd. for mending Mr. Hawkins' Door ²	-	-	-	0	4	0
"	6.	Pd. for a Hedgehog	-	-	-	0	0	4
"		Pd. at the Archdeacon's Visitation	-	-	-	0	3	6
"	18.	Relieved Beck Spacy	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	25.	Pd. for a book for a Thanksgiving Day	-	-	-	0	1	0
"		Pd. the Ringers when Lewisbroug ³ was taken	-	-	-	0	5	0
"	26.	Pd. John Day a Bill for Matts ⁴	-	-	-	0	7	0
Sept.	16.	Pd. John Day for a Matt	-	-	-	0	1	0
"	27.	Pd. Mr. Hawkins a Bill	-	-	-	0	13	0
"	27.	Pd. John Day for Matts	-	-	-	0	3	0
"	29.	Pd. Ralph Gray for cleaning the Churchyard	-	-	-	0	2	6
Oct.	7.	Pd. at the Visitation	-	-	-	0	6	8
"	8.	Pd. for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	16.	Pd. for two Pole Catts	-	-	-	0	1	0
"	20.	Pd. John Day for mending a Foorm	-	-	-	0	2	0
"	24.	Pd. Richd. Payne for Pitching at the Castle Bridge	-	-	-	0	1	0
"	24.	Pd. the Quit Rent for the Church House	-	-	-	0	4	6
Nov.	10.	Pd. for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	20.	Pd. Richd. Payne for laying Wm. Pinneth grave and new laying some more stones	-	-	-	0	4	0
"	29.	Pd. Wm. Prickett a Bill for work done to the Church House	-	-	-	0	2	6
Dec.	14.	Pd. for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
Jan.	4.	Pd. for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	24.	Pd. for a Book and a Proclamation for a fast	-	-	-	0	3	6
"	27.	Pd. for Laying Mr. Gardiner's Child's grave	-	-	-	0	1	0
"	28.	Spent when the Tax was made	-	-	-	0	2	6
Feb.	4.	Pd. for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"		Paid on Parish Business	-	-	-	0	2	0
"	8.	Paid for three Pole Catts	-	-	-	0	1	6
"	12.	Paid for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	12.	Paid Mr. Hawkins a Bill	-	-	-	0	12	2

¹ Other years' accounts show that the awards paid for the extermination of 'vermin' are as follows Hedgehogs, 4d. each; Polecats, 6d. each, Badgers, 1s. each; Weasels, 4d. each; Sparrows, 2d. per doz.; Foxes, 1s. each; Otters, 2s. 6d. each; Stoats, 4d. each.

² This evidently means Doorway. See last item in this Account.

³ The war was between the English and French in North America. 'Louisburg, though defended by a garrison of five thousand men, was taken with the fleet in its harbour.'

⁴ The number of 'Matts' used and the sum spent annually is surprisingly large.

						£	s.	d.
Feb.	15.	Paid for Renewing the Church House	-	-	-	5	5	8
"	17.	Paid for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	26.	Paid for three Pole Catts	-	-	-	0	1	6
Mar.	15.	Paid Richd. Payne for work done at the Church House	-	-	-	0	1	0
"	20.	Paid for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
April	4.	Paid for a Pole Catt	-	-	-	0	0	6
"	16.	Paid John Day for Matts	-	-	-	0	6	0
"	24.	Paid the Minister a Year's Rent for the Church Yard ¹	-	-	-	0	10	0
"	25.	Paid Nathl. Hanks a Bill for Slatting Work, &c.	-	-	-	2	19	6
"	30.	Paid the Clarke his Bill	-	-	-	3	13	0
		Paid Seven Ringing Days as Usual ²	-	-	-	1	15	0
		Paid the Sexton a Year's Wages	-	-	-	1	0	0
		Gave Ralph Gray when Recd. his Rent ³	-	-	-	0	0	6
		For maken up the Acct. ⁴	-	-	-	0	2	6
May	17.	Paid Mr. Colton a Year's Sallary	-	-	-	2	10	0
"	21.	Paid Mr. Hawkins a Bill	-	-	-	0	14	11
"	21.	Paid for Wine for Sacrament ⁵	-	-	-	2	8	0
		Paid on Parish Bussiness at several times	-	-	-	0	5	0
		Paid Mr. Hill for one Load of Stones and 3 Loads of Gravil to mend Mr. Hawkin's Door	-	-	-	0	6	6

£34 5 0

Return'd Taxes.

						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rob. Cox	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	6			
John Beesley	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	6			
Mr. Bursley of Bottley	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	4 ¹ / ₂			
Mr. Bleaney	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	9			
Mr. Winslow	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	6			
									0	2	7 ¹ / ₂
									<u>£34</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7¹/₂</u>

						£	s.	d.
Money Receiv'd	-	-	-	-	-	46	4	5 ¹ / ₂
Disbursted	-	-	-	-	-	34	7	7 ¹ / ₂
Due to the Parish	-	-	-	-	-	<u>£11</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>

We whose Names are under written do a Prove of these Accts.

Wm. Hill,	} Ch. Wardens.	Josph. Maynard,	} Overseers.	Richard Coe.
Richd. Rawlings,		Willm. Colton,		Geo. Harris.

¹ Query: the vicar's freehold, and 10s. the annual Quit Rent.

² An annual item which is continued up to the present time.

³ This gentleman seems to have had a good many sixpences in this way.

⁴ An annual item.

⁵ This appears to have been one of the heaviest regular expenses each year.

S. THOMAS' PARISH CHURCH

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Interesting Items from other year's Accounts.

						£	s.	d.
1756.								
Feb. 27.	Pd. for a Later ¹ from Gloster	-	-	-	-	0	0	4
April 14.	Pd. Seven Saylor's	-	-	-	-	0	1	6
Oct. 20.	Pd. a man without a tongue	-	-	-	-	0	1	0
1757.								
Feb. 28.	Pd. Mr. Hawkins ye constable for looking after ye boys	-			-	0	5	0
May 15.	Pd. for mending the Parish Hall	-	-	-	-	1	19	10
„ 27.	Pd. for exchanging two Puter Plates for to gather the Breifts ²	-			-	0	3	0
	Pd. for a new Knapken to cover ye stool in the Chancell	-			-	0	4	0
1759.								
Dec. 15.	Form of Prayer thanks Giving, Ad. Hawk beating ye French	-			-	0	1	0
1760.								
May 26.	Going ye Perambulation	-	-	-	-	6	11	6
Oct. 18.	For Prayer Taking Montreal	-	-	-	-	0	1	0
1761.								
April 6.	Pd. Mary King for Glaizers' work	-	-	-	-	1	6	8
July 24.	Pd. Ringers for Prince Ferdinand Beating ye French	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
Sept. 5.	Proclamation against Profainers	-	-	-	-	0	1	0
1762.								
Sept. 30.	Pd. Ringing for taking ye Havvanah ³	-	-	-	-	0	5	0
1764.								
Mar. 22.	Pd. for a New Surplice	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
1765.								
Jan. 20.	Expended on Severall Men in Serch after the man that Stoll the Lead of the church	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
April 23.	Pd. the Clark for a new Lanthorn for ye use of the church	-			-	0	3	6
1766.								
Feb. 12.	Pd. John Orpwood for Mending Castle Bridge	-	-		-	0	1	0
June 25.	Pd. the Correnor and jury for the Verdict on the Body of Thomas Beesley—Drowned	-	-	-	-	1	4	0
	Pd. the Jury	-	-	-	-	0	4	0
1767.								
Feb. 7.	Pd. Mr. Doe for 4 Singing Books for the Use of the Gallery	-			-	0	11	6
1770.								
June 7.	Pd. Advertising for a Person to Farm the poor	-	-		-	0	3	6
„ 27.	Pd. the Insurance ⁴ of the workhouse	-	-		-	0	6	0
Nov. 22.	Pd. for a Sack of Charcoal to burn in the Church after a flood	-			-	0	1	10

¹ Letter.

² Collections ordered by the State for the relief of special distress in some town or village.

³ The name of a vessel captured by the English from the Americans in the War of Rebellion.

⁴ Further entries show this to be at the *Sun* Office.

						£	s.	d.
1771.								
May	9.	Pd. the Expençe of going the Preambulation ¹	-	-	-	10	15	9
June	15.	Nat Hanks for repairing the School house	-	-	-	3	15	7
		The Men's Beavers	-	-	-	0	3	0
1772.								
July	3.	The Constable for warning the Jury	-	-	-	0	2	0
Oct.	3.	Pitchen Lays Bridge	-	-	-	0	2	0
1773.								
Nov.	15.	Mending 21 Church Buckets	-	-	-	0	12	3
1774.								
April	4.	Pd. Josh. Earl a bill for making a new Bridge in ye Amhill ²	-	-	-	1	12	0
1775.								
		Pd. James Rise for mending the Bells	-	-	-	3	10	0
1776.								
May	25.	The Chamberlin's Quit Rent for Castle Bridge	-	-	-	0	7	4
1790.								
Jan.	7.	Ringin Day at Mr. Blenhans for rejoicing at ye coals coming to Oxford to ye New Cannal Wharf	-	-	-	0	5	0
		The New Stocks :				£	s.	d.
		Jos. Earl's bill the Woodwork	-	-	-	1	14	0
		Richd. Hall do. Ironwork	-	-	-	1	5	9
		Mr. Sims Pitching	-	-	-	0	3	6
		A Staple Lock and Key	-	-	-	0	2	0
						3	5	3
Oct.	6.	Pd. for mending the Constable's Staff	-	-	-	0	1	0
1795.								
		Expences at the Meetings consulting about raising a man for H.M. Navy	-	-	-	0	2	6
		Recd. in S. Thomas' Parish by a Tax to defray the Expences of raising a man for the Navy	-	-	-	12	7	3
		Pd. William Franklin the Bounty for Serving in the Navy	-	-	-	13	1	0
		Paid for the swearing, enrolling, and expences attending his elopement	-	-	-	1	0	9
		Paid Mr. Hardy for ribbons	-	-	-	0	2	6
1796.								
		Pd. Mr. Orpwood for ye Annual Dinner	-	-	-	2	0	0
		Pd. Mr. Francis for Salmon	-	-	-	0	9	0
		Pd. Mr. Simms, Meat	-	-	-	0	9	0
		Pd. Mr. Penson, Garden Stuff ³	-	-	-	0	3	6

Names of Land properties mentioned in Tax Schedules, 1756 to 1763: Kings Mead, Wrights Land, Barrits Land, Boar Mead, Glooster Hall Ground, Midley, Ruley Close, Pulpit Acre, Jericho, Abbey Meads, Ox Close, Osney Churchyard, Fulling Mill Ham, Sharman Land, Oatlands, Osney Grange, Pike Acre, Culver Close, Cripely, Tythe.

¹ The beating of the bounds of the parish.

² The Hamel.

³ Reminiscent of 'Penson's Gardens' in S. Ebbe's parish.

THE RESTORATION AND ALTERATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the office of the Incorporated Church Building Society in London there is filed an interesting document concerning restorations and alterations in the church about 1826. It is the petition of the vicar, churchwardens, and other parishioners for assistance from the society, which reads as follows :

TO THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT AND BUILDING
OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL of the Reverend John Jones, Curate of the Augmented Curacy, Thomas Cook and Henry Roberts, Churchwardens. The said Thomas Cook and William Taylor, Overseers of the parish of Saint Nicholas, otherwise Saint Thomas, in the Suburbs of the City and Diocese of Oxford and the Inhabitants of the same parish
Sheweth—

THAT the parish of Saint Nicholas, otherwise Saint Thomas, is a very large and populous parish containing in Number by the Census made in the year One thousand Eight hundred and Twenty one One thousand Eight hundred and Thirty nine Souls, and that by a late Account taken by the Curate and one of the Churchwardens the Number amounted to Two thousand One hundred and Forty nine Souls.

THAT the Duty consists of Morning and Evening prayers with two Sermons on every Sunday, the Full duty on Christmas day, Good Friday, and Easter day, and the Administration of the Sacrament Once a Month exclusive of the Feast days.

THAT the parishioners are extremely regular in their attendance and that on account of the present state of the internal part of the Church there is not convenient room for their accommodation.

THAT the Gallery is situated about the Middle of the Church so that that part of the Church behind the Gallery is almost useless ; and there are not at present any open seats for the Accommodation of the poorer Inhabitants of the said parish.

THAT the Church being situated on very low Ground in the Suburbs of the City of Oxford is oftentimes for many weeks over flooded so as to prevent any Service being performed. That it is the wish and desire of your memorialists to raise the Floor of the Church at least two feet from its present Level and to remove the Gallery from its present situation to make open seats which will contain about Four hundred of the poorer parishioners and also to make New pews which will be more convenient for the present parishioners and will be a very great advantage and improvement to the Church.

THAT your Memorialists have had a plan and Estimate made by Mr. Evans, a Skilful Architect and Builder, which estimate amounts to the Sum of Four hundred and fifty Pounds, as will be seen by a Reference to such plan and estimate accompanying this memorial.

THAT your Memorialists are unable to raise among themselves the Sum of Four hundred and fifty Pounds—but they propose to obtain part of the same by a General Subscription in the parish.

THAT the Curacy is only of the permanent annual Value of Sixty pounds fifteen shillings and six pence : which renders it impossible for the Curate to contribute any part of his Income towards these Improvements.

THAT the parishioners in General consist of the Laborious class of Society and there are only a few Individuals who are possessed of any Material property in the parish.

YOUR MEMORIALISTS therefore Humbly submit these Circumstances to the Consideration

of your Society with a Hope that they will afford to your Memorialists such assistance as they may think them properly entitled to receive from their Bounty Towards completing the present most Valuable and necessary Improvements for the furtherance and support of the Church Establishment.

May, 1824.

The following is a copy of a general appeal prefixed to a subscription list issued about October, 1825 :

THE CHURCH OF S. THOMAS, OXFORD

October, 1825.

In consequence of its great antiquity, this Church is now in such a dilapidated state as to render immediate repair absolutely necessary. It is also subject to annual inundation from the overflowing of the Isis, which prevents the performance of divine service during many weeks in the winter. The parishioners have, therefore, come to the resolution of repairing the roof and the walls ; raising the floor above the level of the water ; fitting up new pews, and making open sittings for the accommodation of nearly 300 of the poorer inhabitants of this very populous parish.

The population was 2,149, but the Church accommodation was only 221, of which 56 were free. By appropriating that part of the body of the Church, which is at present parted off by a wooden screen against which the Singing gallery is erected, an additional 229 sittings were obtained. Finally it was decided that 373 sittings should be free and unappropriated.

The expense of these reparations and necessary improvements is estimated at £900 [total cost eventually was £1,420]. To raise that sum, it is again necessary to appeal to the generosity of the public ; which appeal, it is hoped, and confidently believed, will not be unavailing.

It is a matter of no little interest that the list of subscribers included the names of certain men who subsequently became great dignitaries of the Church, viz. 'Rev. C. T. Longley,' appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1862 ; the 'Rev. J. H. Newman,' then Vice-Principal of S. Alban's Hall, and subsequently Vicar of S. Mary's, Fellow of Oriel, and ultimately a Cardinal of the Roman Church ; and 'E. B. Pusey, Esq.,' who became Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church ; the two latter are also remembered as revered leaders in the Oxford Movement.

Another letter from the then vicar to the Society for Promoting the Enlargement and Building of Churches and Chapels is full of interest in many points :

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT AND
BUILDING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

Gentlemen,

I beg leave again to lay before you the enclosed papers relative to the repairs of the Church of St. Thomas, Oxford. You were kind enough to promise last year (July 22, 1824) the sum of *One hundred pounds* towards the said repairs—the estimate, at that time, amounting only to £450. But the which estimate we were from necessity compelled to exceed, in consequence of the walls of the church being, upon examination, found to be very

old and crazy ; indeed so much so that we were obliged, for safety's sake, to take down the South Wall entirely, and rebuild it. We also raised all the walls 3 feet and the floor of the church in the same proportion, to prevent the water from coming in ; also to put in a new roof with many other minor, but necessary, reparations. The specifications of which, if required, I could send to the Society. The expense already incurred amounts, as per Bill, to the sum of £1,017. 14. 2½, and towards the defraying of which (independent of the Society's subscription) I have been able, by means of advertisements and begging in person, to collect the sum of £612. 9. 9, as you will find by the list of subscribers, a copy of which together with some of the advertisements, I took the liberty of sending to you.

Everything, as far as regards the shell of the church, is now completed. The seats are not as yet touched—the estimate for making and fitting up of which amounts to £378. 7. 8. The Committee, consisting of the principal men of the Parish, finding our fund to be already exhausted, are afraid to let the men go on with the work, lest we should involve the Parish in too great a debt. I need not mention again that St. Thomas is a very populous Parish, amounting, by the last census taken by me and the Church Wardens, last year, to the number of 2,149 souls, and that all of them, with the exception of two or three individuals, are of the poorest and very lowest of the Community. The Living itself is scarcely worth Eighty Pounds a year. I trust, therefore, you will take our case under consideration and give us, according to your well-known liberality, that assistance which is now so much wanted. I have done my endeavours and indeed succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectation. I met with encouragement from quarters I had no reason or hope to expect.

The Bishop of Oxford went with me a few days ago to see the improvements, and, I am happy to say, his Lordship expressed himself as being highly pleased and greatly satisfied with what has been done. I may add, the improvements meet with the warmest approbation of all the Parishioners.

These alterations and repairs seemingly involved not only the roofs and walls of the nave and chancel, the raising of the floor levels, fitting up new pews, etc., but it may be inferred that the main features of the old Norman chancel-arch (as shown in Plate ii) were then taken away, as there is no mention of anything of the kind in the 1848 restorations. Apparently, too, the roofs of the chapel on the north side were also entirely altered, as there is a marked change in this detail as represented in 1840, when compared with another drawing dated 1780 (see Plates i and vi). It is believed that formerly where there was a descent of two steps there is now an ascent of three steps at the west door of the church ; while another indication of the alteration in the ground level is that the piscina in the chancel (ordinarily about thirty inches) is now only about nine inches from the floor. Such a change in the ground level, with its consequent reduction in the height of the church, renders the present proportions of the building inside markedly disproportionate.

The Restorations and Alterations in 1846–8

In 1846, Mr. Chamberlain decided to make considerable structural alterations in the parish church, and it is known that the cost was chiefly borne by the

generosity of his curate, the Rev. Alexander Penrose Forbes, who subsequently became Bishop of Brechin.¹ The work included the erection of a new north aisle connected with the nave by arched bays on six clustered columns; the building of a new chancel arch in place of one apparently destroyed in 1825; the removal of two large beams and a low plaster ceiling in the chancel which actually obscured a portion of the east window; and the erection of a panelled canted roof. Certain high pews were removed, and pews with low partitions, but still furnished with doors,² substituted—a compromise, it is said, effected by the bishop. At that time the west gallery was retained by request of the patrons, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church.

It is stated in a periodical that 'the chancel is to have stalls for the clergy on the north side . . . while an influential family, whom it has been found impossible to totally dislodge, are to be indulged with benches on the south.'³

Later on the west gallery was removed; a new altar, nine feet long, with a stone *mensa*, replaced an older but smaller Holy Table; and the font was removed to the west end under the tower. The nave was 'floored with tiles by voluntary subscription' in 1861.

CANON CHAMBERLAIN AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

In any chronicle of S. Thomas', Oxford, the long incumbency of Canon Chamberlain claims a special tribute, especially when it is remembered how closely associated he was with the early days of the Oxford Movement.

It has been said that 'the story of the Movement has this supreme attraction—to study it is to learn never to be afraid to take the unpopular or what seems to be the beaten side; never to despair of God's Church nor of His truth . . . and to read those lives [of the Tractarians] is a sure cure for depression as to the English Church, its present or its future; to take up and read the old Tractarian story sends the fainthearted back again with fresh heart and new power.'⁴

This is certainly most true in regard to the great and famous pioneer leaders and their wonderful work, and in a great measure it may be applied to many who would not claim to be more than 'lesser lights.' From this point of view, here are offered a few notes on the remarkably strenuous life of a Tractarian parish priest which may not be amiss in these days of unrest and depression,

¹ See Plate ix.

² Marks indicating the positions of the door hinges may still be seen on many of the existing pews. The People's Churchwarden's seat was complete with a door until 1875, or later.

³ *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. vii, 1847, p. 117.

⁴ Canon Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 273 and 274. In the early part of the same book the author says: 'No story in the whole history of the English Church, since S. Augustine landed A.D. 597, is so splendid as the story of the Oxford Movement. It has every sort of interest. It is exciting, romantic, chivalrous, like the story of a crusade. It has its humour as well as its tragedy. And the actors in it were among the most spiritual men who have ever lived in England. They were men of genius besides: poets like Keble, Newman, Isaac Williams, and Faber; men of letters like Newman and Dean Church; preachers whose sermons are read to-day, divines and theologians whose fame will last as long as Christianity endures.'

and perhaps not altogether unwelcome to many who know but little about the state of things existing in the English Church no farther back than the days of our grandparents.

Thomas Chamberlain began his Oxford career in 1828, the year which saw Dr. Newman appointed vicar of S. Mary's and Dr. Pusey installed at Christ Church. As a Student of Christ Church he had claimed a title for ordination as deacon, and in 1833, coinciding with Keble's memorable sermon, and the first issue of the *Tracts for the Times*, Mr. Chamberlain was ordained priest. Thus his earliest Oxford days were contemporary with the very beginning of the great Catholic revival, and so convinced was he of the truth of the stirring message given by the leaders of the Movement that he felt impelled to take a personal part in the work of its wider diffusion.

As a graduate of Christ Church he made himself acquainted with S. Thomas', and realizing the responsibilities of 'the House' as patron of the living, he determined, at the first opportunity, to offer himself for the spiritual care of this parish. Meanwhile, he went to Cowley village,¹ and continued there as 'perpetual curate' until 1842, when S. Thomas' fell vacant, and he was appointed vicar, and so began a connection with the parish which lasted exactly fifty years. For about half this period S. Thomas' was not only the most notable of parish churches in Oxford (S. Mary's alone excepted), but equally well known far beyond the University city, and used to be described by Tractarian opponents as 'the headquarters of the ultra-devotees of the Pusey party.'²

Combined with a dignified scholarly personality, Mr. Chamberlain possessed in a marked degree splendid gifts by way of moral courage, energy, and determination, with decided, uncompromising views, which enabled him to carry through his manifold activities for the Church during exceptionally critical and troublous times.

The moral tone and general reputation of parts of S. Thomas' Parish about 1842 were unenviable. Every kind of evil flourished in that spot which had been the black sheep among Oxford parishes. Possibly the absence of any resident clergyman tended to the state of things existing at that date, for over a very long period the incumbency had been held by one of the chaplains or tutors of Christ Church, who invariably resided in or near the college. Circumstances attaching to University or Cathedral duties would prevent any efficient ministering in a parish church like S. Thomas', where most things then seemed typical of spiritual deadness, while throughout the neighbourhood there was a lack of any uplifting influence.

From the outset, with such a spiritually destitute state of things facing him, Mr. Chamberlain determined to make great changes. It was not a parish where the old regime could be retained and improvements gradually carried out, nor

¹ Mr Chamberlain was eventually succeeded at Cowley by the Rev. R. M. Benson, who subsequently became the father-founder of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley. In those days Cowley Parish included the large outlying district nearer Oxford, and now known as Cowley S. John.

² Dr. Peter Maurice, *Papery in Oxford*, 1851.

was the new vicar a man who could work on such lines. What Newman, Pusey, and Keble had been doing for the intellectual classes of society, he determined to adapt for his cure of souls in S. Thomas'. And so in the old parish church the older truths of the Catholic Faith were again taught in all their fullness, with simplicity, but it cost the new vicar severe opposition within the parish, and farther afield too.

A couple of cottages adjoining the churchyard were secured and converted into a clergy house.¹ House-to-house visiting was incessant, though practically an unknown feature of parochial work in those days. Houses of bad character, which then abounded in the parish, were gradually reduced; unceasingly harassed, many of the occupants migrated to other parishes, and so called forth objections, but the vicar of S. Thomas' was unmoved and continued his efforts as he felt his responsibilities compelled him, and expected other parishes to face their duties also in such matters.

On one occasion he refused to receive into church the corpse of a man who had died impenitent after a life of open vicious sin. Efforts in discipline such as this brought Mr. Chamberlain bitter enmity, and many times he was followed along the streets by a hostile mob, unsparingly abusive, who not infrequently also threw stones at their victim. In the streets of the parish a sort of 'Town and Gown' row on a small scale was easily raised at any time.

In 1846, Mr. Chamberlain decided to make considerable alterations in the structure of the parish church by adding a north aisle, and other improvements.²

It has been well said that if Dr. Manning was a type of the men who seceded to Rome at this period, Mr. Chamberlain was equally a type of the men who remained true to the English Church, a Tractarian of the school that followed Pusey and Keble rather than Newman. This characteristic continued in so many points all through his ministry, especially in matters of ceremonial. His striving and fighting were mainly in defence of great doctrinal truths, as the ceremonial he adopted was of the simplest, but it all, every bit of it, implied definite teaching.

It has been claimed for S. Thomas' that it was the first parish church to revive daily services since the time of Queen Anne. Here, too, the proper Eucharistic vestment³ was restored to use on Whitsun Day, 1854; ⁴ altar lights,

¹ This served as a residence for the curate (though known as the Vicarage) as well as providing convenient rooms for classes, meetings, etc. The new vicar continued to occupy his rooms at Christ Church until 1869, when he decided to live in the parish, and resided in Hythe Bridge Street with the Rev. Henry and Mrs. Rowley. Mr. Rowley was one of the pioneer missionaries of the U.M.C.A., and afterwards was for many years closely associated with the S.P.G. He often officiated at S. Thomas' Church when he was in Oxford. Later on at this 'vicarage' developed a movement for helping candidates for Holy Orders. At that time the Church in Wales was deplorably short of priests, and the vicar trained a good many men for ordination in Welsh Dioceses, and so the vicarage where the men met together was known to some as 'Welshman's College.'

² Further details are given on pp. 17, 18.

³ 'Vestment' is intentionally used, as it is doubtful whether on this occasion anything more than the chasuble was worn over a long surplice and a stole. Later all the usual vestments were adopted, the chasubles being designed by C. E. Kempe, some of which are being used to-day.

⁴ As sometimes there has been uncertainty as to the exact date, it may be well to print the following letter: 'It was Whitsuntide, 1854, that the chasuble was introduced at S. Thomas'. Up to that time Chamberlain wore a very curious arrangement at the altar. A hybrid vesture—half surplice, half alb, that is, a surplice with

eastward position, and the mixed chalice were previously in use. These restorations cost Mr. Chamberlain a great deal in the way of further isolation, coldness of friends,¹ and open violence from some of his enemies. On the other hand, to him belongs the honour of sharing the due fame of leading the way in the revival of the Church's proper ceremonial. It is estimated that to-day 'vestments' are used in over fifteen hundred English churches. When they were revived at S. Thomas' in 1854² there was only one other parish church in the whole of England where a similar use prevailed. When Mr. Chamberlain introduced a stone *mensa* for the altar in the cemetery chapel there was considerable opposition from the other incumbents concerned, but it was overcome.

In the 'seventies, it is implied, from some reminiscences written by the late Rev. W. H. Smithe, that the arrangement for services were Sung Eucharist on alternate Sundays, when the Introit Psalm was sung in procession from the vestry (at the west end) to the altar, the vicar celebrating and preaching, the music being Merbecke or the *Missa de Angelis*. On weekdays, Holy Communion daily, either in church or the Sisterhood chapel; Matins sung daily at 11.15 a.m.,

alb sleeves, and with wings hanging from the shoulders; these were made by cutting the ordinary surplice sleeve up from the wrists to the shoulder, so that while the arms were in alb sleeves, the surplice sleeves hung down behind. Over this he wore a coloured stole according to the season, and over all a wonderful M.A. hood. It was irreverently called "a split salmon," open down the back and laid open so as to display all the crimson lining, with as little black as possible, and cut very low in the front so as to show the red silk nearly as far as the elbows, and then fastened up with hooks almost to the throat.

'I may add that in Advent and Lent he made us wear our M.A. hoods "backsfore" as Devonshire folks say, so as to show all the black and none of the red.

'To resume my story of the first chasuble. At that time Albert Wood was working as a layman at S. Thomas'. He had been apprenticed to a draper at Ramsgate, but Canon Jenkins (Jenkins of Jesus) bought up his indentures and sent him to read at S. Thomas' with Chamberlain. Afterwards in 1855, I think, he went out to the Cape, was ordained by Bishop Gray, and returning after some years, became rector of North and South Reston, and wrote many letters to the *Church Times* over the signature of "Antiquary."

'A short time before Whitsuntide, 1854, Thornton opened the subject to me, "Did I think the vicar would wear a chasuble if one were presented to him?" I thought he would.

'Then came the question of ways and means, and I suggested taking Wood into confidence because of his knowledge of materials. So we three were the original conspirators. Having got so far, the question arose, "Who should make it?" and we agreed to ask Mrs. Payne, the wife of Mr. William Payne, who was at the time an upholsterer in High Street, opposite All Saints' Church. She willingly entered into our plans, and Wood, at Thornton's expense, bought the materials, a crimson corded silk with a white silk lining, and thick flannel between the two to make it fall softly, with a narrow gold braid running round the vestment and the opening at the neck.

'On the afternoon of Whitsun Eve, Mrs. Payne sent word that the chasuble was ready, and Wood and myself went to the High Street to see it and have it packed, and then took it to S. John's to show it to Thornton, and so carried it down to S. Thomas'.

'The following morning Wood and myself laid it out open on the vestry table, and having put on our surplices waited for the vicar. He came in—looked at the thing for a minute as if it were a curiosity and then said, "What's this?" I replied, "A chasuble." "What's it for?" "For you to wear if you wish." "Where did it come from?" "I believe it is a present from Thornton." So he stood looking at it and twisting his mouth about in a funny way he had when he was thinking, and at last said, "Look and see who is in church?" I did so and then we helped him to put it on, and he went to the altar and celebrated, and, *mirabile dictu*, not a word was said, nor did any of the congregation seem to notice any change of vestment.

'The following Christmas, a white chasuble was introduced, then in Lent, 1855, the violet. No green was worn in my time, nor did we ever wear a proper alb (but always the winged surplice I have described), or girdle, or maniple, or amice" (Letter from the Rev. Thomas Russell (Asst. Priest at S. Thomas', 1853-56), dated Aug. 27, 1906.)

'Our Parish Church, to which we should have naturally gone, was S. Thomas', but that was terribly in advance of the times, and had vestments, and altar lights, and Sisters of Mercy, and all sorts of strange horrors, which were utterly anathema to an old-fashioned churchman like my father, so that we were strictly forbidden to put so much as our noses inside it" (W. E. Sherwood, *Oxford Yesterday*).

² It is interesting to further note that a stole was occasionally worn at S. Thomas' prior to Canon Chamberlain's time. About 1837 the Rev. Charles Seagar (a learned Orientalist, and later acted as assistant lecturer in Hebrew for Dr. Pusey) had a black stole which he wore when he officiated at S. Thomas', and, as it is authoritatively stated, at S. Thomas' only. This must have been very exceptional at the time, for it aroused not a little excitement and some controversy. (See Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, vol. ii, p. 16.)

when the choirboys could be released from school; Evensong sung daily, and in the earlier years of S. Edward's School the boys regularly attended the service. Homes in the parish were assiduously visited by the Sisters and Miss Skene;¹ outsiders were not encouraged. 'A cowman employed at the Ox-Pens farm was frequently at Evensong, and often fell asleep from weariness, as his working day lasted from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the smell of his boots kept every one at a distance, but he was a sample of the old S. Thomas' saints.' Confirmation was administered every year, invariably on Easter Eve; the Bishop with choir singing Psalm lxxviii in procession from the old vicarage to the west door of the church and so on to the chancel. Before the new district churches sprang up, S. Thomas' Church was usually crowded; on Saints' Days extra seats were needed for the congregation, which came from all parts of Oxford. The proper Antiphons were sung before the Psalms and Canticles. After the second lesson at Matins on Holy Days about six elder boys came and stood before the chancel step to be catechized 'openly in the church' by the vicar. Baptism was frequently administered after the second lesson on Sunday evenings, 'when the most number of people come together.'

Within five years of Mr. Chamberlain's induction he formulated, and with characteristic courage carried out, the scheme for a Sisterhood resident in the parish,² a pioneer of the numerous communities which are now doing invaluable work all over England. The time of the founding of the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr in 1847 was, remembering what had happened in the few preceding years, exceptionally difficult and seemingly inopportune. In 1843 Dr. Pusey had been suspended from preaching; Dr. Newman had retired from Oxford to his retreat at Littlemore, eventually seceding in 1845, followed by many others. The Church of England, it was said, 'seemed to be reeling,' and the work of the Movement critical in the extreme.

It was a time when, if any man could be described as a 'Puseyite,' he was considered therefore to be quite unfit for any public appointment. But the vicar of S. Thomas' never deviated in the least from the course he had set himself, although new opposition arose to harass and hinder his difficult work. Although regarded as a 'suspect' by the University and episcopal dignitaries, he calmly pursued his way, never fearful as to the end.

¹ See p. 144.

² Associated in a practical way with the foundation period and the earliest days of the Sisterhood here was Miss Marion Hughes, cousin to Mr. Chamberlain, afterwards the revered Mother-Superior of the Convent of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Oxford. The story of her dedication to holy celibacy is well known to many Church people, as it is recorded in Dr. Pusey's *Life*, viz.:

'E. B. P. to Rev. J. H. Newman

Christ Church, Trinity Sunday (June 5th), 1841.

'My dear Friend,

'A young lady, who is very grateful for your teaching, is purposing to-day to take a vow of holy celibacy. She has difficulties and anxieties in her position. She has attended S. Mary's since she has been in Oxford, and hopes to receive the Holy Communion there to-day, as also being part of her self-devotion. It was wished that you should know it and remember her. You will know her by her being dressed in white with an ivory cross. . . .

'Yours ever gratefully and affectionately, E. B. Pusey.'

We are further told that—'Near her knelt Lucy Pusey, to receive her first Communion and to consecrate to God the short life which was to end within three years. Newman celebrated, and Pusey was present among the congregation.'

Bishop Bagot, in 1846, appointed him rural dean, but his more famous successor, Dr. Wilberforce, cancelled the honour on the grounds that times were critical and that Mr. Chamberlain was 'a party man.'

When Oxford suffered from cholera in 1848 and 1854, S. Thomas' was the parish where the disease was most prevalent.¹

'The Vicar was always to the front, working night and day with the doctors, comforting the sick and dying, and where they would receive it, preaching the glad tidings of the kingdom. Each soul was to him of infinite value.

'Dreadful as that cholera time was, there is no doubt that it increased the vicar's influence immensely among his people. It could not be otherwise, and from those times may be dated many friendships that lasted unto death. Though, of course, there were always malcontents and malicious busybodies, yet the best of the parishioners were won, and unworthy suspicions were lulled. The foundation of his work was laid, and he could turn his mind to the furtherance of other schemes.'²

S. Thomas' Church and Mr. Chamberlain are also associated with what is thought to be the first attempt at a revival of retreats in the English Church. 'Dr. Pusey had been forced unwillingly into incessant controversy : but no one was more conscious than himself that it was not in the atmosphere of controversy nor in the promotion merely of theological study, that any real improvement in the Church must be expected ; it must begin with greater strictness of life among the clergy. Only those who were living for God, he said, could persuade other men to live for Him. For this reason, in July, 1856, what is believed to be the first attempt at a Retreat for Clergy in the later English Church was made under his auspices. Seventeen or eighteen clergymen were present, and were lodged and fed at his house in Christ Church. They met at half past six, to say Prime and prepare for Holy Communion. Then the whole party attended a celebration at S. Thomas' Church at seven, remaining in church after the service for about half an hour for prayer. Returning to Pusey's they said Thanksgiving for Communion, and Terce over, breakfast followed, during which a meditation was read. Then they went to the Cathedral service at ten, returning to Sext, and a "conference" which lasted until two or three o'clock. It was on some such subject as conversion or confession. Dinner, during which there was spiritual reading, was followed by None, and afternoon service at the Cathedral: after which the whole party took a short walk, or returned to tea, to another "conference" and Compline, and so went to bed. This was repeated every day for a week.'³

After the apparent failure and rout of the Tractarians in the University, Oxford from the Church point of view was most dreary, always excepting

¹ See also p. 143.

² A. B. Simeon, *Short Memoir of Thomas Chamberlain*.

³ *Life of E. B. Pusey*, vol. III, p. 378.

S. Thomas' Church, where Mr. Chamberlain steadfastly maintained the revived standard of worship. For many years this parish church was as a 'city on a hill,' without compeer or rival, and here came for worship sympathetic undergraduates, like the late Arthur Henry Stanton, Rhodes Bristow, Henry Scott Holland, Francis Paget, and many others who afterwards became 'dignitaries,' and of whom most are now at rest.

Mr. Chamberlain found that prior to his coming to S. Thomas', Mr. Henry Ward, coal merchant, had provided at his own expense, in 1839, a large houseboat, which came to be known as the Boatmen's Floating Chapel.¹ It was moored to the canal towpath, and was intended for the benefit of the boatmen (and their families) employed on the canal and river. Here a Church Service was held every Sunday afternoon, and this was greatly appreciated. On weekdays the boat was used as a school for the children.

Eventually the houseboat decayed in the lower parts and one night disappeared by sinking to the bottom of the river. A more permanent chapel was built in 1868-9 on the north side of Hythe Bridge Street, near the bridge. It was dedicated to S. Nicolas, and like its predecessor was used on weekdays for an infants' school, and less regularly as a 'night school.' Evensong was regularly sung there every Sunday afternoon until about 1892.

It was at S. Nicolas' Chapel that the late Alfred Richard Mowbray (founder of the well-known firm of A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd.) spent the last evening of his life in teaching the canal boatmen at the night school. This was on the 16th of December, 1875. Returning home apparently in normal health, heart failure suddenly ensued, and early in the morning of the 17th Mr. Mowbray passed away in his sleep.

Many of the leaders of the Oxford Movement have been associated with S. Thomas' by preaching or otherwise helping at its frequent services—e.g. Dr. Pusey,² Dr. Neale, Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, Father Lowder, and Dr. King (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln), while Dr. Liddon preached his first sermon here on December 21, 1852. Still later, though now over forty years ago, Canon V. S. S. Coles conducted a mission in the parish, and his personal interest continues to-day. With the advent of new churches one after the other, as S. Philip and S. James', the Cowley Fathers' 'Iron Church,' S. Barnabas', and S. Frideswide's, S. Thomas' Church lost its old outstanding position.

Indirectly, Mr. Chamberlain did a vast amount of influential work for the Movement by his writings and editing of Church magazines. The Rev. W. H. Smithe in his reminiscences³ says :

'The Student of Christ Church was never quite lost in the parish priest : during the years in which the mass of parish work was ever growing, there was an incessant output of

¹ See Plate xci.

² Dr. Pusey's grandson, the Rev. James E. B. Brine, served as curate under Canon Chamberlain from 1880-82.

³ *S. Thomas' Parish Magazine*, Dec., 1908.

literary matter : *The Ecclesiastic*, a review of high stamp, was edited for twenty-one years, 1846-1867 ; and *The Churchman's Companion*, a monthly magazine ; this in conjunction with Miss Skene : *she* told the stories, and *he* told the truth : the answers to correspondents, probably his, were exceedingly good, neither too brief, nor too lengthy. *The Oxford University Herald*, a review of Church makers and books, was still going when I came, and a long time after : it died from lack of pence, as other things do : *The Churchman's Diary*, a calendar with notes and tables, was started by him and edited year after year till his death : then there was a stream of articles and reviews in other Church papers : I have heard how he would come down from Christ Church to the eight o'clock service on weekdays with a bundle of printers' proofs under his arm, to be looked over whilst he ate his breakfast in the old vicarage : this work of writing for the press was maintained to the last.¹

Mr. Chamberlain held the post of literary adviser to Mr. Burns, the chief Church publisher of his day, and later filled a similar position to the house of Masters & Co. He helped considerably in the revival of Gregorian music in Oxford, and 'Helmores' has been in use at S. Thomas' for some seventy years.

About 1850, a high school for boys, known as 'Osney¹ House' School, was founded by Mr. Chamberlain at a private house opposite the 'Vicarage' in High Street, but it failed. With undaunted courage, some years later, about 1863, he restarted it as 'S. Edward's School,'² outside the parish, in New Inn Hall Street, and from thence it was, in 1873, removed to Summertown, where to-day it continues, a vast and flourishing institution. About the same period a high school for girls was also established in connection with the Sisterhood, and was known as S. Anne's, Rewley.¹ It was situated first in Worcester Street, and afterwards (about 1870) it was removed to a larger building in Wellington Square. Both these places were outside the boundary of S. Thomas', though the teachers and pupils always attended the parish church. Rewley school has been discontinued for some years, though at one period it acquired a prominent position among higher class Church schools.

As early as 1869, Mr. Chamberlain began to show some signs of failing health, due to his hard, strenuous life, though he was able to maintain most of his activities for many years afterwards. In the 'seventies, there were many stormy vestry meetings, and party feeling ran high. Records show that as many as three hundred and seventy-seven persons could be induced to poll for rival candidates for the office of parish churchwarden, which compares strikingly with the apathy of similar elections at the present time.

In 1882, Bishop Mackarness appointed the vicar of S. Thomas' as one of the honorary canons of Christ Church. 1883 was the last year of his ministrations at the parish church, and from thence onwards he lived practically a retired life. At the bishop's request he did not resign the living, it being arranged to

¹ Doubtless the titles were chosen to commemorate the two abbeys which once stood within the parish boundary.

² The first headmaster was the Rev. F. W. Fryer; he was succeeded by the Rev. A. B. Simeon, whose name has always been so prominently associated with S. Edward's School. Both priests were licensed by the bishop to S. Thomas' Church.

leave the work of the church and parish in the hands of the Rev. Hubert Francis Jones (afterwards vicar of North Nibley), who had been his close friend and colleague for over thirty years.

Canon Chamberlain died on January 20, 1892, and, vested in the chasuble first worn by him in 1854, was buried in the parish churchyard, where his grave is marked by a massive memorial granite cross.

In 1891, Canon Chamberlain defrayed the cost of the building now known as the Parochial Hall. On the east side is a tablet bearing the following inscription :

‘This Parochial Hall and room were erected in 1891 by the Rev. T. Chamberlain, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church and Vicar of S. Thomas ye Martyr, Oxford, in the 50th year of his incumbency, as a thank-offering to Almighty God.’

ALTERATIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH SINCE 1892

In the following notes concerning S. Thomas' Church during the period subsequent to Canon Chamberlain's decease, any record or even summary of the spiritual work achieved by, or under, the parish priests concerned with this period has been purposely avoided for lack of space, but it seemed desirable to register here brief information as to the main structural alterations in the church from 1892 to 1927.

The Rev. Wentworth Watson (vicar of Monmouth, 1879–92) was appointed vicar in succession to Canon Chamberlain. Among the material works carried out under the auspices of Mr. Watson was the building of the first vicarage for S. Thomas' on land adjoining the north boundary of the churchyard, while an important alteration in the church was the removal of the organ to the nave.¹ Hitherto its position had been in the chancel, very near the altar. How inconvenient this was may be gathered from the picture given on Plate vii. Mr. Watson was appointed vicar of Abingdon in 1896,² and was followed by the Rev. Thomas Howard Birley, then curate of S. Saviour's, Roath. Mr. Birley almost immediately began to raise funds for an entire renovation of the parish church, both internal and external. The exterior work included a new roof to chancel, nave, and aisle, while the interior roof of the chancel was reconstructed as in its present form. All the large transverse beams over the nave were decorated with English inscriptions, instead of Latin as formerly. It was found that the mural decorations executed by Mr. C. E. Kempe,³ about 1870, had deteriorated beyond renovation, and so the walls were cleansed and left plain. The organ suffered a further removal from the east end of the nave to a gallery at the west end of the church. A

¹ Evidently the organ had been situated in the chancel for nearly forty years, as there is a record in 1856 to the effect that ‘it was resolved to dispose of the old barrel-organ and the proceeds to go towards the purchase of a new finger-organ.’

² Mr. Watson died July 10, 1925.

³ See Plate vii.

new vestry was built at the north-west corner of the church, and a new heating apparatus installed, with boiler-house below the vestry. Another very important event during Mr. Birley's incumbency was the raising of funds for an entirely new group of parochial schools for boys, girls, and infants.¹ Mr. Birley resigned in 1908 on his joining the staff of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.² He was succeeded by the Rev. Bartle Starmer Hack (formerly curate of Witney, and later assistant priest at the Christ Church Mission, Poplar, E.). During Mr. Hack's tenure of the living the parish church was again thoroughly cleaned and painted, and the chancel redecorated. The large and beautiful oak reredos, with a copy in oils of Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*, was erected, and the vestry enlarged and fitted with a commodious oak press for vestments, etc. Mr. Hack was preferred to S. Mary Magdalene's, Oxford, in 1923, and was followed at S. Thomas' by the Rev. Edwin Oliver James, D.Litt. Since Dr. James came to S. Thomas' electric lighting has been installed, a further improved heating system provided, and a memorial of parishioners who fell in the Great War erected in the church.

THE WINDOWS

Unfortunately there is no old glass preserved in S. Thomas' Church. The destruction of stained glass and monuments in Oxford during the Civil War has been lamented by many writers, from Anthony Wood onwards, and is all the more grievous because it was not done in fair fight during the siege so much as through the vandalism of soldiers of the garrison. One Royalist officer, however, has done much to fill the place of lost records by sedulously making notes of such as were still to be seen, at S. Thomas' among other churches, in the winter of 1643-4,³ viz. :

' West window by belfry—old.

' North window—Arms of the See of Canterbury and Arms of Archbishop Morton. A small window in the north side of the chancel filled with picture of the Virgin Mary, with Christ in her arms, and a scroll : " Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis."

' Another with the Arms of the See of Norwich, with a rebus representing a tun with a cat upon it, and inscription : " Roberti Catton,⁴ prioris Norwici const . . . 1519."

' In the east window of the chancel the picture of S. George with the red cross on his breast and on his left arm.'

The subjects of the stained glass in the existing windows are as follows :

IN THE CHANCEL : *East*, the Crucifixion ; *North*, S. Frideswide, S. Nicolas ; *South*, S. Thomas of Canterbury, the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

¹ See p 38.

² From 1909 to 1925 Mr. Birley was Archdeacon of Korogwe. On June 11, 1925, he was consecrated Bishop of Zanzibar.

³ *Oxford Church Notes* made by Richard Symonds, 1643-4. Ed. by Rose Graham, F.R.H.S., as printed in *Collectanea*, 4th series, O.H.S. publications, vol. xlvii.

⁴ Robert Catton was prior of Norwich, 1504, and translated to the abbacy of St. Albans in 1529 or 1530.

IN THE NAVE : *South*, SS. Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Gregory : a memorial to Martha Harris, *obit.* April 17, 1864. SS. Benedict and Scholastica : a memorial to Maria Philippa Oldaker, *obit.* May 6, 1867. SS. Augustine and Jerome : a memorial to Sister Beatrice, C.S.T.M.,¹ *obit.* August 12, 1872. SS. Stephen and Paul : a memorial to George Skene,² *obit.* January 2, 1875. *West*, SS. Frideswide, Peter, Paul, Thomas, and Mary Magdalene, David and Abraham : a memorial to Eleanor Eliza Jones,³ *obit.* Pentecost, 1879.

IN THE NORTH AISLE : *East*, the Worship of the Lamb ; showing the altar in heaven and an altar on earth. *North*, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant : a memorial to Jane Skene,⁴ *obit.* 1862. The Incarnation, Rev. xii. 5 : a memorial to James Skene,⁵ *obit.* 1864. The Virgin Saints following the Lamb : a memorial to some pupils of Rewley School.⁶

SOME MEMORIALS (OTHER THAN WINDOWS)

TWO STONE TABLETS on the interior north wall of chancel, to the memory of WILLIAM TYLCOKE.⁷ The upper stone reads—I BEINGE SEVENTI AND iiij YEARES OF AGE DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE XXII DAY OF JUNE 1578 THE XX YEAR OF QVEN ELIZABETH. The lower stone reads—ENCLOSED HEARE DOTHE WILLIAME TYLCOKE LYE WHOSE JUST DESERTS DID CAUSE BE CHOSEN MAYRE FOWER SUNDRYE TIMES BVT NOW CONSTRAIND TO DYE OF EARTHE COMPOSDE TO EARTHE HE MAKES REPAIRE THIS WORLDE THEREFORE AS VAYNE AND FRAILLE DESPISE IMMORTAL BLISSE THINKE HOPE TO WINNE DEVISE.

A TABLET on the interior north wall under the tower. To the memory of JAMES FUNNELL. The inscription is in Latin, which translated reads as follows :

S(acred to the) M(emory) of James Funnell

Whose sweet nature, quick understanding and zealous love of literature, but for his years and innocence, might have thrown doubt upon his youthfulness. But while the expectations, at once promising and realized, of parents and of a most loving and attentive teacher fostered these qualities which were like those of a tree which bares both blossom and fruit at the same time, he was snatched away by the disorder or disease of small-pox.

Oh, grief of parents and teacher ! In vain are the former blessed with such a child and the latter with such a pupil. But happy boy whose singular shortness of life might well be mourned, whose death so long lamented, but that of such indeed is the Kingdom of Heaven.⁸

A TABLET on the interior south wall under the tower. To the memory of JOHN KENDALL. The inscription is in Latin, which translated reads as follows :

Near to this place the excellent John Kendall sleeps in Christ. A virtuous, simple gentleman, honest and most courteous. Devoid at once of all falsity and craftiness both in speech and manners. Loyalty to the Royal Family sprang out of the agreeableness of his good will and the innocence of his genial nature ; in matters of opinion he always abhorred hostility.

He loved the Church as established in England, and (as far as in him lay) he both maintained and defended it in the most difficult times. For well he knew its ancient faith and treated with veneration its most beneficent teaching. Its prayers and Sacraments he constantly attended, and regarded the priests with the most fervent attention. In private life considerate for the

¹ See p. 38. ² Brother of F. M. F. Skene. See p. 144. ³ Mother of Rev. H. F. Jones. See p. 31.

⁴ Mother of F. M. F. Skene ⁵ Father of F. M. F. Skene ⁶ See p. 25.

⁷ William Tyldcock was an alderman, and Mayor of Oxford in 1560, 1566, 1568, and 1575. He was also M.P. for Oxford in 1554. In 1562 he was, with other members, dismissed the Council, for having subscribed their names to the maintenance of a certain John Cumber in his disobedience against the mayor of the city. Alderman Tyldcock in business followed the trade and calling of a baker. He was a benefactor to the Council by way of a gift of 'one sylver Saulte duble gylt wayinge xxviijte ounces.'

⁸ There is nothing to indicate the age of James Funnell, nor the date of his death. The style of the Tablet is early eighteenth century.

public welfare, honourable in the accumulation of riches and mindful of the poor. In the qualities with which he was endowed most uncommon mild, modest, and humble. He favoured the spirituality of pure religion rather than outward display, the dictates of conscience rather than public opinion.

So being prudent in all things he furnished for a long time when in this parish a most acceptable example of high character and beneficence.

This mild, inoffensive, and jovial old gentleman, after a short illness, humbly rendered up his soul to God on the 16th September, A.D. 1706, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

This monument was erected to a most beloved and mourned-for spouse by his sorrowing widow Elizabeth, A.D. 1708.

A TABLET on the interior north wall under the tower. To the memory of ANTHONY KENDALL AND ANNE KENDALL AND THEIR FOUR DAUGHTERS. The inscription is in Latin, which translated reads as follows :

Here lies in the hope of a blessed Resurrection the excellent Anthony Kendall and Anne, his dearly beloved wife ; patterns of a happy and unsullied married life. He was a valuable and trustworthy citizen, a kind and indulgent father, a compassionate lover of the poor, a friendly neighbour. He was an illustrious and sincere observer of religion, who diligently brought up both children and servants in the fear of the Lord and the doctrine of the Church of England. He constantly held office, both public and private, and received the esteem worthy of his position.

She was a modest wife, a tender and provident mother, a mild and frugal mistress of the home. She piously preserved her husband's reputation and assiduously attended to her household affairs.



Four children repose near the ashes of their parents, Christiana, Mary, Elizabeth, and Sarah, whose qualities in all things resembled their parents. Save only that they remained of their own will unmarried, and like the wise virgins, devoted to Christ. With lamps trimmed and full of the oil of good works they entered into the espousals of the immaculate Lamb.

Anne, the remaining daughter and sister, (set up) this monument to the memory of dearly loved parents and sisters, A.D. 1711. Who herself departed to Christ, A.D. 1715. The milk of kindness and mercies gives forth the sweetest odour for ever.

A TOMB near the exterior south wall of the chancel. To the memory of TIMOTHY BOURNE. Inscription : ' Timothy Bourne of Rowley ¹ in this parish, gent, son of W. Bourne of Windlebury in this county, Gent, who married Martha, the Daughter of Mr. John Wilcox of this city, with whom he lived 51 years, by whom he had issue one son and six daughters. He was twice Mayor, and in the Commission of the Peace for many years, died Dec. 2, 1732, aged 80 : Martha his wife—Jan. 20, 1736, aged 84.'

CARVED OAK PULPIT. A memorial to THOMAS ROGERS who died in 1855. Presented by his son, James Rogers, who himself designed the pulpit and executed the fine carved details.

THREE SANCTUARY HANGING LAMPS : thankoffering by the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Daniel, commemorating their silver wedding.

AUMBRY, with carved and partly gilded door, in the north wall of chancel. Inscribed : ' To the memory of Captain REGINALD RAWDON-HASTINGS, killed in action, Oct. 13, 1915. Presented by his mother, Lady Maud Hastings.'

Mr. Rawdon-Hastings, when in Oxford as an undergraduate at Christ Church, frequently attended S. Thomas' Church for worship, and occasionally helped as a server.

STATIONS OF THE CROSS. A brass tablet, near picture No. 1, contains an inscription : ' These pictures of the sacred Passion are placed here to the glory of God, and in loving

¹ Rewley.

memory of Lieutenant Victor Hughes, only son of the late Major-General J. Victor Hughes, M.S.C., and E. Maude his wife. He was killed in action at Shahi-Tangi whilst bravely leading his men against the Mamunds on the frontier of India, 16th September, 1871. R.I.P.'

The pictures were presented by his mother, Mrs. Maude Hughes, who was a generous helper in Church work at S. Thomas' during the years 1894 to 1920.

Just beneath the aforementioned tablet is a smaller one inscribed as follows: 'This tablet is placed to the memory of the above mentioned E. Maude Hughes who died on January 30, 1922.'

OIL PAINTING OF THE RISEN LORD. Painted by Sister Catherine Ruth of the Community of All Saints. Subscribed for by parishioners and members of the congregation as a memorial of the Parochial Mission held in October, 1903, and conducted by the Rev. H. Ross, S. Alban's, Holborn, and the Rev. G. W. Croom, S. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens.

A **BRASS CHANDELIER** now hanging in the chancel formerly hung from the roof of the nave; it is inscribed: 'This was given by Mrs. CHRISTIANA AND ANNE KENDALL for the use and ornament of this Church and the Services and Glory of God. Dec. 28, A.D. 1705. S.T.P.' See Plate vii.

Large CARVED WOOD FIGURE OF THE CHRIST, coloured, standing upon an oak bracket and surmounted by an oak canopy. A memorial to **THE MEN** of the parish **WHO FELL IN THE GREAT WAR.** Near-by is a board recording the names:

Frederick Allsworth.	Arthur G. Forrister.	Alfred Mobey.
Harold Archer.	William Clemson Goodman.	Percy John Mobey.
William Baldwin.	Fredk Geo. William Green.	Lewis Neville.
Percy Bosson.	Charles Hack.	William Neville.
Albert William Broadway.	Thomas F. Hambridge.	William North.
William Brogden.	Frank Harwood.	Giles Parsons.
Montague T. S. Browning.	William Henry Himms.	George Pritchard.
Thomas Omev Bryant.	Harry Holland.	Walter J. Reeve.
Charles Burley.	Alban Benedict Hudson, M.C.	Henry Thomas Shepherd.
Richard Claridge.	Charles Kilbee.	Joseph Simms.
Henry Cousins.	Henry Kilbee.	George James Snell.
George Cudd.	Charles Leckford.	Charles Spence.
Frederick W. Davies.	William Loveridge.	William T. Squires.
George Davies.	George Lake.	Walter Washbrook.
Charles Dean.	Charles Lydford.	William Watts.
Arthur Frank Drewett.	Clarence Maasz.	Frederick Whitlock.
Henry Evans.	John Manners.	Henry Worth.
Gwynne Field.	Thomas Mitchell.	Cyril Wyatt.

CHURCHYARD CROSS. Designed by Mr. A. Buckeridge, bearing an inscription: 'Mary Ann Beauchamp, *obit.* Oct., 1863.'

A large **CHALICE AND PATEN** (silver and gilt) inscribed as follows: 'To the Glory of God. Presented to the Church of S. Thomas the Martyr by parishioners and friends in memory of the incumbency of Wentworth Watson, M.A. 1896.'

CIBORIUM (or **PYX**), inscribed in Latin. Translation: 'Having fellowship with, and reverencing the memory of, the glorious Martyr Thomas, may the blessing of the Most Holy Body of Christ come upon us. And remember, O Lord, Caroline Elizabeth Hudson who gave this Pyx for the use of the Altar of Blessed Thomas the Martyr in Oxford on the feast of his translation, A.D. 1906.'

AN ALTAR CRUCIFIX AND FOUR CANDLESTICKS OF SILVER. Presented to the church by the Rev. Roger Wodehouse, Assistant Priest at S. Thomas', 1914-20.

MURAL TABLET to the memory of the Rev. HUBERT FRANCIS JONES. It is placed on the north wall of the chancel immediately above the seat he occupied during his thirty-two years of office. It is inscribed: 'In memory of the Reverend Hubert Francis Jones, for thirty-two years Assistant Priest in this Church, afterwards Vicar of North Nibley, whom God took to his Rest 28th June, 1895. This brass is erected by some parishioners and friends.'

THE CHURCH BELLS AND CLOCK

There are six bells at the present time, which bear inscriptions as follows:

- | | | |
|----------|--|------------------------|
| 1st bell | Jno. Slatter,
Jno. King, | } Churchwardens. |
| | Thos. Loder, Benefact, A.B.R. 1733. | |
| 2nd bell | William Lapworth,
Walter Kimber, | } Churchwardens, 1717. |
| | William Adams gave me 1706. | |
| 3rd bell | S. O. Moore, Overseer,
Jonah Payne, Churchwarden, | } 1706. |
| 4th bell | Wishing Peace and good Neighbourhood. A.R.† 1706. | |
| 5th bell | Recast 1806. Thomas Blencowe,
Thomas Spenlove, | } Churchwardens. |
| | Thomas Mears & Son of London Fecit. | |
| 6th bell | Recast 1806. Thomas Blencowe,
Thomas Spenlove, | } Churchwardens. |
| | Thomas Mears & Son of London Fecit. | |

In a seventeenth-century MS. it is recorded, 'Upon the Saints' bell of this Church this: barbra avocor anno domini MCCCCLII.'

In 1859 the whole of the bells were put into a state of thorough repair, and in 1900 all six bells were retuned and re-hung on a new iron frame at a cost of £107. 8s. 9d.

The present clock in the tower dates from 1875-6. There is an entry in the vestry book as follows:

'The church clock having been for a long time out of order, and latterly not going at all, a vestry was held on April 8, 1875, and a committee appointed to collect subscriptions for the purchase of a new one, with an additional dial towards the Botley Road.'

The clock was provided by Messrs. Gillett & Bland, of Croydon, for the sum of £125, including fixing.

James William Washbrook, a famous bellringer.

S. Thomas' Parish can claim to have produced at least one famous ringer in the late Mr. James William Washbrook. That he was an exceptional master

¹ Evidently the initials of Abraham Rudhall, 'perhaps the most successful founder [of bells] England has known.' A. B. R., the founder of the first bell, was evidently a successor to A. R. His foundry was at Gloucester and flourished greatly in the seventeenth century. The business was incorporated by Messrs. Mears of London in 1835.

in bellringing may be seen from the following excerpts taken from a record¹ of the proceedings when the memorial to his memory was dedicated:

'Bellringers from all over the country visited Oxford on Saturday, December 5, 1925, to honour the memory of the late Mr. James William Washbrook, probably the most talented composer, ringer, and conductor the country has had. It was through Washbrook that the Oxford Diocesan Guild of Bellringers was formed in 1881, and for several years he was the instructor. His great interest in ringing took him to all parts of England and to Ireland, where hundreds of men have benefited by his tuition. In order to perpetuate his memory a fund was opened by the Oxford Diocesan Guild, and there was a remarkable response not only from all parts of England, but from ringers who had left the country and settled in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. The memorial took the form of repairing, re-hanging and re-tuning the bells of S. Ebbe's Church and adding two more trebles to the peal, thereby bringing the peal up to its previous strength of over fifty years ago, when there were eight bells. On the side of the entrance to the belfry is a tablet, on which is inscribed: "The bells in this tower were repaired and re-hung and the two trebles added by the Oxford Diocesan Guild and ringers of the British Empire in memory of James William Washbrook, a highly-skilled ringer, a talented composer and an able conductor, and for many years instructor to the Guild. Born July 27, 1864. Died Christmas Day, 1923."

'Canon Coleridge, President of the Central Council of Church Bellringers, in an address, said the memorial which they had dedicated was to one of the most noted, if not the most noted, ringers of all times. Fifty years ago he first became a member of this University and joined the University Society of Change Ringers. It was their practise every Wednesday afternoon to meet at S. Thomas' Church and practise with open bells. In those days Mr. Whitaker was the schoolmaster and parish clerk, and he allowed them to enter the belfry, but whether he connived at the frequent absences of his pupil Washbrook he did not know. It was young Washbrook who on every possible occasion made every possible excuse to be in the belfry; he would creep up and watch those undergraduates painfully trying to ring plain courses. In after years Washbrook told him how often he wondered when he should be able to do likewise. He had hardly emerged from the infants' school before he could ring a bell. At the age of eight or nine he could ring a bell and chime three times daily for services at S. Thomas'. Beyond that, whenever possible, he would toll the tenor for deaths and funerals in the parish. Perhaps his schoolmaster was glad to give him the job, for it left him free to instruct in the schoolroom. For the three years while he was a scholar he instructed himself in the great art of ringing. Many times he had told him of how he played truant, and in the afternoons and evenings and often at night, when the doors of the church were locked and no keys available, he and his friend John Jaggar (then a parishioner of S. Thomas', and afterwards the well-known bellringer of Burton-on-Trent) climbed up the ivy on the tower and entered the window and practised till the early hours of the morning with tied clappers. It was when he was at about the age of sixteen that one of the clergy of S. Thomas' gave him a book on change-ringing, and shortly after, not only had he instructed himself, but others. It served as a good foundation for the future. In his seventeenth year he rang his first peal at Kirtlington. Less than two years afterwards he was called to his first peal of Stedman Triples at Christ Church, conducted from a non-observation bell.

'Washbrook had to give up his work as instructor to the Guild, for with a growing family he found that his and their daily bread could not be provided by bellringing alone.

¹ *Oxford Times*, Dec. 11, 1925.

He migrated to Hereford and did a great work for the Guild there until the call came to him to go to Ireland. Lord Carysfort, a member of the Guinness family, had built the most beautiful church ever seen in the whole of Ireland. He not only built it, but endowed it with the office of caretaker and steeple-master. Washbrook was recommended for that, and very soon, out of unpromising material but with the aid of his sons, he taught Irishmen to ring bells. The whole place was electrified one day when he rung a pair of bells and conducted a peal. He had seen Washbrook ringing a pair of bells in a tower with no more exertion than if they had been handbells, and had conducted the peal at the same time. Leaving Ireland for family reasons, he went to Staffordshire, and later to Lancashire, where he did much for the young ringers. While there he rang eighty or more peals. How many peals he rang in all his career he did not know. Such was the story so far as he could tell it of this most talented ringer, conductor, and composer.'

THE CHURCH REGISTERS

In Anthony Wood's time there were registers going back to 1560, and in his note tells us that 'this Register is more full, punctual, and the best kept of any register in Oxon.' The existing registers date back only from 1667.

In 1821 there is a record of the church being broken into, and 'the iron chest for holding the parish registers carried away, together with £1. 1s. 5d. from a drawer in the vestry.' A reward of twenty guineas was offered for the apprehension of the robber. Perhaps some of the earlier registers were then lost and never recovered, as in an archidiaconal return for 1831 the earliest registers recorded agree with those now at the church, except that there was then a Baptism Register dating back to 1655, so apparently one register has gone astray within the last century.

A few excerpts¹ of the most interesting items are printed below. It will be noticed that during the Civil War period there were many officers buried at S. Thomas', a number dying, or executed, in Oxford Castle.

BAPTIZED

1577 : Memorandum that Sir William Catesbie lying at Gloucester hall with the ladie Catesbie his wife, in the lodgings that Sir Georg Peckham repaired, and the said lady being delivered of a woman child, did pay her chrysom and all other duties to the vicar and clark of S. Thomas Parish, acknowledging the same parish to be their owne parish during all the time of their abode there. Paid 21 July in the yeare of our Lord aforesaid unto William Chalfont, then vicar. The said child was not christened by the said vicar, but by a popish priest.

MARRIED

Leonard Hutten,² D.D., prebendary of Ch. Ch., and Anne Hamden, 19 Febr., 1600-1.

Thomas James, Mr. of Arts, late fellow of New College, and Anne Underhill, of S. Martin's Parish, 18 Oct., 1602.

Rowland Searchfeild, D.D., sometimes fellow of S. John's (afterwards Bishop of Bristol), and Mrs Ann Hutchinson of this parish, 15 Dec., 1606.

¹ All quoted by Anthony Wood in a MS. Wood, D. 5, at the Bodleian.

² Dr. Hutten was famous as an antiquarian and traveller in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

BURIED

John Plankney, 3 Feb., 156⁶; (drowned by Botley causey; fellow of New College. Of this John Plankney, see in Fox his book of Martyrs under the yeare 1558, p. 190 b, published 1610).

Nicholas Woodson, squire bedell of Divinity, 1571: (lived at Rewley).

Nicholas Riden, Mr. of Arts of Glocester hall, 11 July, 1577.

William Tylcock, alderman of the citie of Oxon., 22 June, 1578.

Anthony Bushop, one of the serjeants of Abendon, buried 11 Febr., ¹⁵⁹⁹₁₆₀₀. He died in Glocester hall, at Mr. (John) Feteplace his house, being in principall's lodgings of that hall.

Richard Makepeace, prisoner, sometimes of Wytney, executed in the Castle yard, buried 1 March, 160⁴.

Mr. John Bagwell (keeper of the Castle prison), 13 July, 1605.

Leonard de Banke, of Minster-lovell in com. Oxon., executed in the Castle, buried 17 July, 1607.

Robert de Banke, of Minster-lovell, prisoner in the Castle, buried 3 Oct., 1609.

Thomas de Banke, prisoner, sometimes of Minster-lovell, buried July 17, 1612: executed in the Castle.

Marie Huchenson, sometimes wife of Mr. Ralph Huchenson, president of St. John's college, buried 31 Jan., 16⁹⁹.

Mary Lynke, widdow, the wife sometimes of Mr. Robert Lynke, one of the Choire of Ch. Ch. in Oxon., buried 29 Feb., 16⁹⁹, *aet.* 88.

Robert Russell, Bac.Div. (of Ch. Ch.), vicar of S. Thomas parish, buried in Ch. Ch., 25 Nov., 1616.

Richard Busby, of Over Norton in com. Oxon., prisoner lately in the Castle, buried March 12, 161⁷. (Executed.)

Griffyn Williams of Jesus College, drowned at Ruly Locke, buried 26 July, 1623.

Degorie Wheare, son of Mr. Degorie Wheare (of Glocester hall), 12 Dec., 1627.

Robert Towers, leivtenant to captain Wyvell, late of Lewys in Sussex, 23 Feb., 164³.

Captain Christopher Grant, of Roxley, under Colonell Darcy's regiment, 22 Sept., 1643.

Thomas Blomer, of Wilton, gent, an ensigne, 25 Sept., 1643.

Thomas Beverley of Smeyton, esq., captaine under colonell Pennyman, 24 June, 1644.

Captain John Gastrill, dying in the Castell, was buried 14 July, 1644.

Mrs Susanna Holland, widdow of Dr. Thomas Holland, sometimes Regius Professor of Divinity, buried from Glocester hall, 4 March, 16⁴⁰.

Humphrey Whistler, a baker, alderman and twice Mayor of Oxford (1640 and 1658), Sep. 12, 1660.

Catherine Rowney, wife of Thomas Rowney, on Jan. 30, 1665 (whose descendant of the same name was High Steward of Oxford in 1743), died in S. Giles, and was buried in the chancel at S. Thomas' 'under the Tylcok monument.' Anthony Wood, the famous Oxford antiquarian, says Mrs. Rowney was his godmother and that he attended the funeral, acting as pallbearer.

INCUMBENTS, CURATES, AND CHURCHWARDENS

S. Thomas' Church from the very first years until the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century was doubtless served by the canons of

Oseney or chaplains appointed by the abbey. At the dissolution the church passed into the hands of the King, but at the establishment of the new See of Oxford the patronage was transferred with other Oseney rights and privileges to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church.

The earlier names of chaplains (C.) or vicars have the date prefixed to them of the document or book in which they are found, which is not necessarily the date of their nomination or presentation to the living.

1196	Richard (C.).	1747	George Tubb.
.	.	1750	Richard Hind, D.D.
1225	Walter de Brackell (C.).	1759	William Newcome.
.	.	1780	W. Chase.
1271	Robert (C.).	1790	Robert Jenner.
.	.	1792	Samuel Smith.
1361	Sir Henry Spencer.	1795	James Meakin.
.	.	1799	Fredk. Barnes.
1551	Sir George Waram.	1803	Henry Smith.
1577	William Chalfont.	1804	William Corne.
.	.	1805	John Josias Conybeare.
c. 1600	Robert Russell.	1806	Fredk. Master.
1616	Robert Burton, D.D.	1808	Alexander Mackenzie.
1641	Thomas Terrent.	1809	Charles Lewis Atterbury.
.	.	1815	John Radcliff.
1663	M. Vincent.	1823	John Jones.
1681	Wm. Noble.	1842	Thomas Chamberlain.
.	.	1892	Wentworth Watson.
1747	Joseph Jane.	1896	Thomas Howard Birley.
		1908	Bartle Starmer Hack.
		1923	Edwin Oliver James, D.Litt.

Some Assistant Curates since Canon Chamberlain's Induction in 1842

1845-46.	Alexander Penrose Forbes.
1849-52.	Edward Miller.
1852-57.	Richard Whitmore Norman.
1853-56.	Thomas Russell.
1854-55.	Augustus H. E. De Romestin.
1856-58.	James L. Fish.
1858-59.	Thomas Castle Southey.
1858-60.	Henry John Poole.
1860-92.	Hubert Francis Jones.
1863-70.	F. W. Fryer.
1868-73.	Edward Stuart Bengough.
1870-75.	Algernon Barrington Simeon.
1874-75.	Henry Salkeld Cooke.
1874-75.	James Bartlett Dalby.
1875-76.	William Shuckforth Grigson.
1875-77.	Henry Phipps Denison.

whose book of verse, *Legenda Monastica*, is still well known to Church people. A window erected to the memory of Sister Beatrice is on the south side of the nave in the parish church.

At the present time it would be very difficult to imagine the parish of S. Thomas' without 'the Sisters,' and indeed still more difficult to estimate the value of their devoted work among the poor, the sick, and the destitute, which has been continuous for seventy years and more. The community, in generation after generation, has never lacked wonderful and inspiring examples of Christ-like lives of patience, humility, and never-failing charity towards all who live in the parish, and, above all, especially for the homeless and the outcast, the desolate and the depressed. The Sisters have suffered many and bitter disappointments from among those whom they have tended, but the good work of seeking and helping tired bodies and sin-stricken souls goes on continually, ever fresh and vigorous, with undaunted faith, hope, and love.

The activities of the community to-day, beside the usual avocations of the Sisters at the church or in the parish, include altar-bread making on rather a large scale; while the convent and its chapel are increasingly used for retreats. In former years the scope of work was still wider and included schools for upper and middle-class girls, an industrial training home for elder girls, and an orphanage for young children, and parish work at Barry. The community was responsible for the Winchester Diocesan Penitentiary at Basingstoke from 1877 to 1927.

THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

In 1901 the parish found itself with all its schools¹ 'condemned' by H.M. Board of Education, and new schools in the parish were therefore an absolute necessity. The only way of satisfactorily meeting the requirements of the church and the parish and the Board of Education was to build an entirely new block of schools at an estimated cost of over £5,000, which implied a stupendous task when it is remembered that S. Thomas' is one of the poorest parishes in Oxford. To raise so large a sum was considered hopeless. Indeed the time seemed most inopportune as the new Education Act came into force in 1902, and Church schools generally were, it was thought, somewhat imperilled. But the vicar (the Rev. T. H. Birley) courageously took the matter in hand by forming a 'New Schools Building Committee,' which consisted of the Arch-deacon of Oxford (the Ven. T. Archer-Houblon), the Rural Dean (Canon Clayton), Rev. W. Warner (Censor of Christ Church), Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson² (formerly vicar of S. Barnabas), Mr. Arthur Hassal (Tutor of Christ Church),

¹ The old boys' school was built in 1839, the old girls' school in 1841, and the old infants' school about 1868.

² The Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson, Vicar of S. Barnabas', Oxford, 1899-1901, afterwards gave regular, continuous, and most able help in the ministrations at the parish church of S. Thomas' for some twenty-three years. As it was always of a voluntary nature the assistance so generously given was greatly appreciated by the clergy and parishioners.

and Messrs. Henry Ward, Thomas Howard, William Ludlow, James Shaw, Thomas W. Squires, and George Walklett. A small balance of a parish fund left by the Rev. Wentworth Watson formed a nucleus to which was soon added a few donations. Other promises of support came in, and the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church generously provided a site in Osney Lane.

Plans were prepared by Mr. Philip A. Robson, A.R.I.B.A., of Westminster, and a tender for the building by Mr. J. W. Wooldridge, of Oxford, was accepted by the committee. The foundation-stone was laid by the Bishop of Oxford (the Right Rev. Dr. F. Paget) on January 26, 1904, and it was long remembered by those who were present, as the day proved very cold, with rain falling heavily, while the vicar was absent, and only just recovering from a somewhat serious illness. The schools were eventually completed, and the opening ceremony conducted by Dr. Paget.

The schools stand, as already stated, upon a site given by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, in Osney Lane, and it was the aim of all concerned to erect the best possible building without any extravagance in the character of the structure or internal decoration. The newest approved plans of the Board of Education were followed by the architect, and accommodation for nearly four hundred children provided. The department for elder boys and girls consists of six classrooms, with a central hall sufficiently large to allow all the scholars to assemble together for prayers, or any other purpose. The infant school is a large room which may be divided by folding doors into three classrooms. Every room is spacious, well lighted, and ventilated. Glazed bricks are principally used for the lower parts of the internal walls, and the floors are formed of solid wood blocks. A marked and pleasing feature of the subscription list was that the parishioners themselves made strenuous and self-denying efforts by Lent self-denial cards, weekly payment cards, and collecting boxes. These magnificent efforts of several years on end were worth while, for it may be claimed that S. Thomas' have a set of school buildings of which not only the parish but the City of Oxford may be proud. As Bishop Birley said on the opening day,—these new schools costing much money, and which had been the subject of long sustained prayers, showed that the Church and parish had realized a great responsibility, viz. that it was their bounden duty, not only to teach the Faith to their children, but also, in turn, to pass on to others, unimpaired, the facilities and privileges involved.

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NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER I

PLATE

I. *From a drawing in the Morrell Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

Apart from the tiny representations shown in the first maps of Oxford this is the earliest known picture of the parish church. Notice the double-gabled roof of the chapel on the north side, and compare with Plate vi. The smaller building adjoining the chapel presumably served as a vestry.

II. *From a drawing by J. C. Buckler, in the British Museum.*

It is said that some of the old stones of this arch were rebuilt into the gable over the exterior of the south door. An attempt to trace an authentic reference to this point has failed, but without doubt it may be claimed that the stones now over the south door inside the porch are similar in character and design to those represented in the arch shown in this plate.

Mr. H. Hurst, in *Oxford Topography*, says : 'The Norman style of the . . . arch from the porch mark the building as erected in Stephen's time.' This indirectly confirms what is stated above, viz. that the stones are Norman in period, though not now in their original position.

The piscina still exists, but because of the changed levels of the church stands only about nine inches from the floor.



Plate I—S. Thomas' Church from the north, c. 1780.

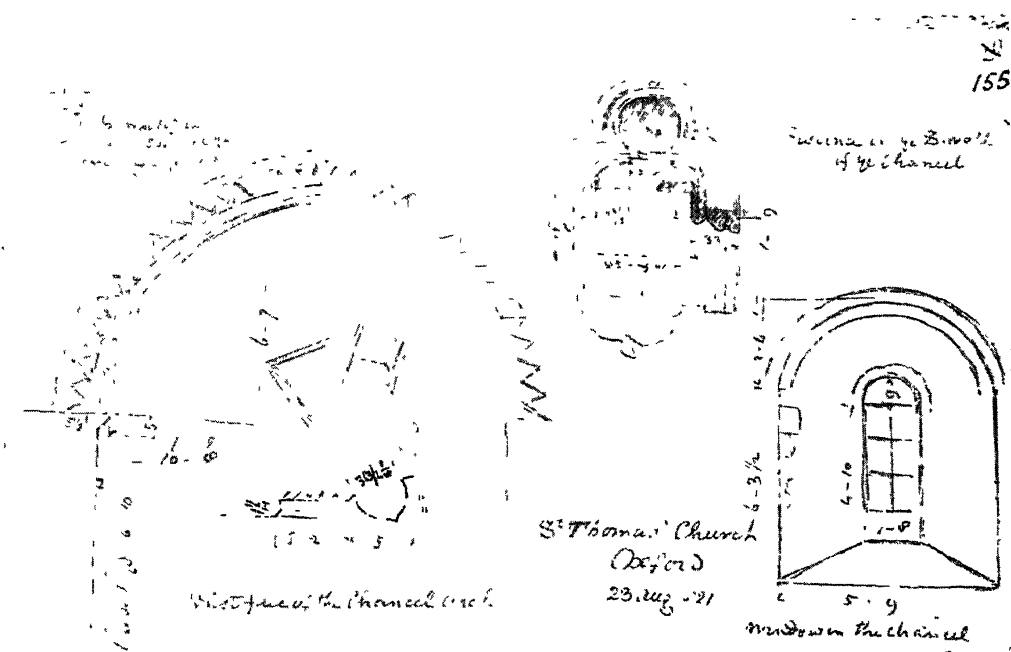


Plate II—S. Thomas' Church. Details of Norman Arch, Piscina, and Window, 1821.



Plate III—S. Thomas' Church, c 1824.



Plate IV—S. Thomas' Church from the south-west, 1835.

PLATE

- III. *From a drawing by J. C. Buckler. Engraved by J. Barnett and printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1828.*

Represents the south side with dormer windows in the roof, which were taken away, apparently, in the restoration work of 1824-5.

- IV. *From a drawing by F. Mackenzie. Engraved by John Le Keux and printed in J. Ingram's 'Memorials of Oxford,' vol. iii.*

Even at this comparatively late date the parish church was surrounded by fields except on the east. The field to the south-west between the church and Osney Lane was known fifty years ago as Eaton's field. Coombe House is clearly shown on the extreme right.

PLATE

V. *From a drawing by J. C. Buckler, in the British Museum.*

The substantial stone wall boundary on the east of the churchyard, as shown in Plate cvii, has been changed into a dwarf wall surmounted by iron railings as to-day. The two cottages adjoining the churchyard on the right were in Canon Chamberlain's early days converted into a vicarage. The house on the left, partly within the churchyard, is Coombe House (see p. 126, and Plates cvii, cviii). The narrow thoroughfare between Coombe House and the other buildings on the left was known as Church Street and led through to Osney Lane. Notice the strut at the corner of the house to keep cart wheels from damaging the wall. The thoroughfare was closed about 1892.

VI. *From a drawing by an unknown artist, by permission of Mr. C. J. Parker.*

If the roof of the chapel on the north side is compared with the earlier view given in Plate I it will be noticed that it has been considerably altered in an unattractive way. This was probably done during the restorations of 1826 (see pp. 15-17). The chapel was demolished when the new north aisle was built about 1847 (see p. 18). Notice the 'lancet' windows in the nave, west of the chapel.

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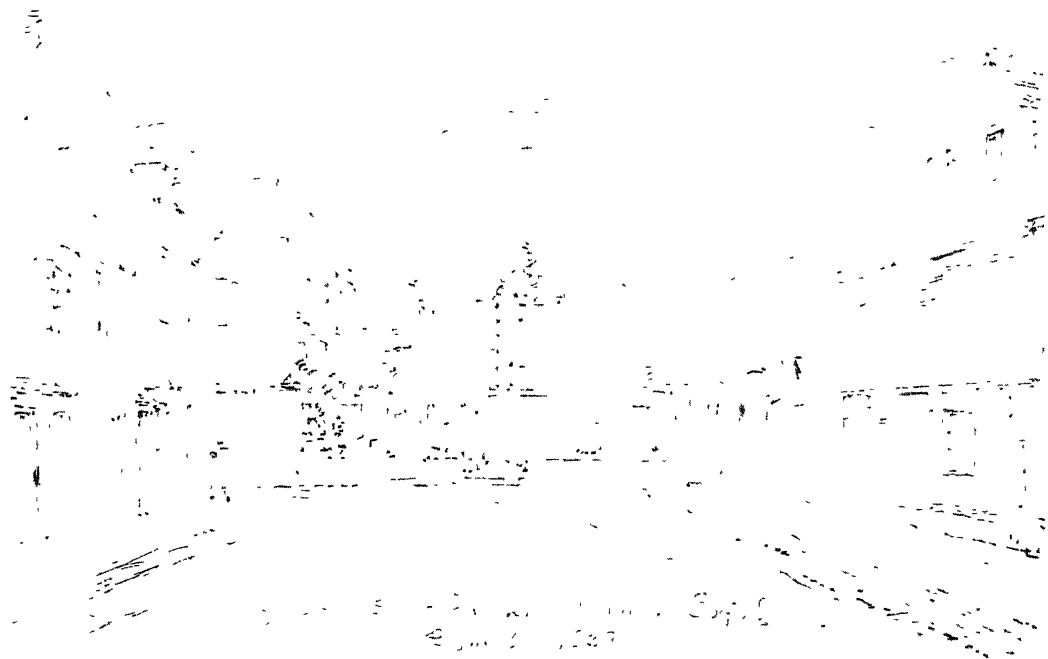


Plate V—S. Thomas' Church from the east, and west end of High Street, 1838.



Plate VI—S. Thomas' Church from the north-west, c. 1840.

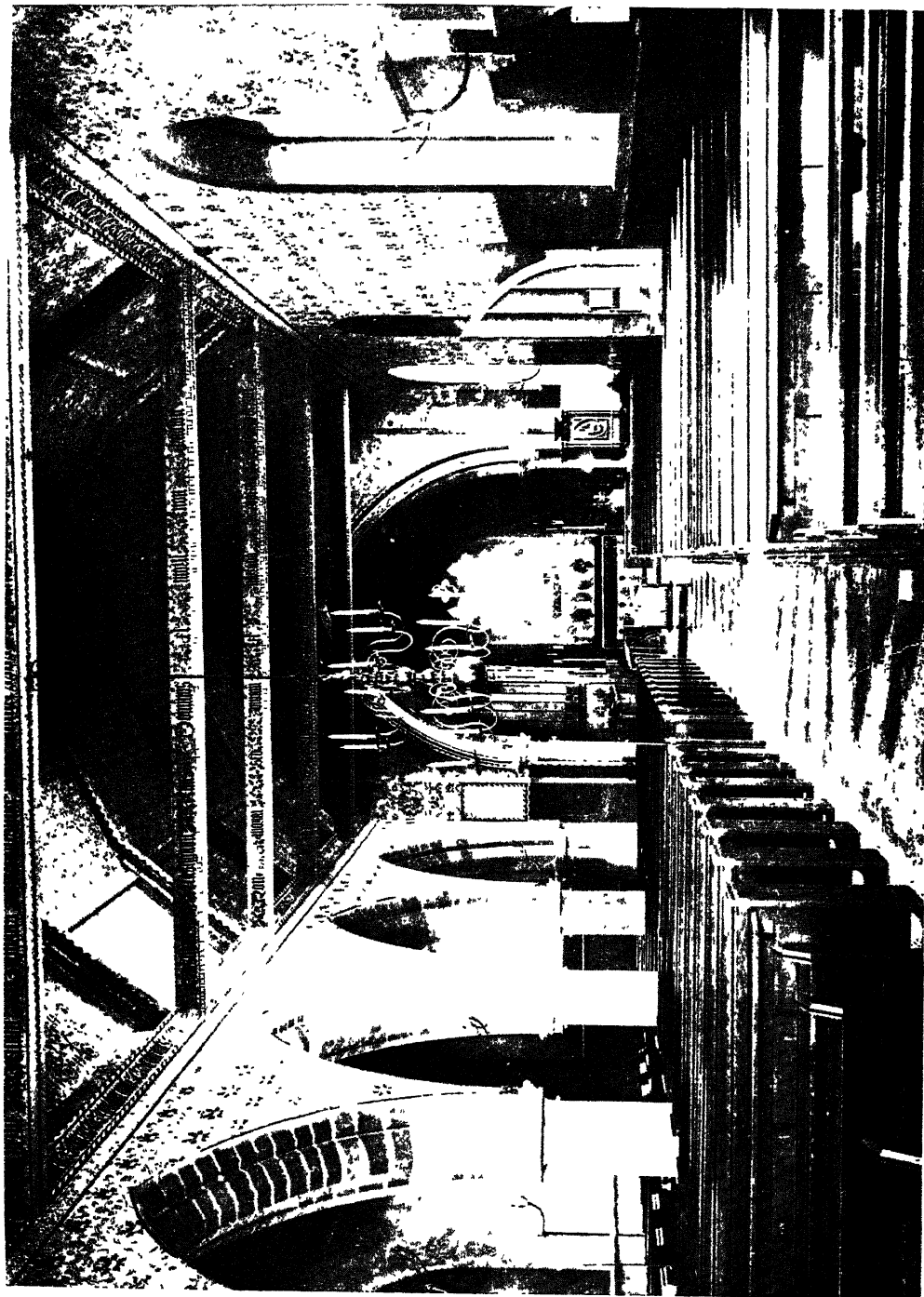


Plate VII—S. Thomas' Church, c. 1875.

PLATE

VII. *From a photograph by Hills & Saunders.*

Notice (i) the organ within the chancel ; (ii) the low reredos beneath the east window ; (iii) the mural and roof decorations, by C. E. Kempe ; (iv) the Latin inscriptions on the transverse beams ; and (v) the Kendall chandelier hanging then over the nave.

PLATE

VIII. *From a photograph by Gillman & Masslin.*

Hubert Francis Jones was assistant priest under Canon Chamberlain from 1860-92.
See pp. 26, 31.

IX. *From a photograph by J. Valentine, Dundee.*

Alexander Penrose Forbes was assistant priest at S. Thomas' in the early part of Canon Chamberlain's incumbency. In 1847 Mr. Forbes was appointed Vicar of S. Saviour's, Leeds, a church built (anonymously by Dr. Pusey) for giving practical illustration to Tractarian doctrine, but which had a desperately tragic history at the outset. He subsequently became Bishop of Brechin (1848-75), and was once officially censured for promulgating the doctrine of the Real Presence. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Pusey, and of Dr. Dollinger of continental 'Old Catholics' fame. Bishop Forbes takes high rank as a theologian, was deeply read in patristic, mediaeval, and modern works, and 'was the man who in piety and learning stands first among the modern Bishops of the Church of Scotland.'

X. *From a private photograph.*

The names of the respective persons represented in this group are—*First Row* : Rev. F. L. Underhill, assistant priest, 1903-11, now Warden of Liddon House, London, S.W. ; Servers : Leonard Parker and Clarence Maasz (killed in the Great War). *Second Row* : Rev. B. S. Hack, vicar, 1908-23 ; Servers : Fred Allday and Harold Brown. *Third Row* : The Right Rev. Bishop Richardson (Warden of the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr, formerly Bishop of Zanzibar) ; Servers : Roger Wodehouse, Balliol College, now Vicar of S. Paul's, Oxford, and the other whose face is hidden is Reginald Rawdon-Hastings, Christ Church (killed in the Great War), (see p. 29).



Plate VIII—Hubert F. Jones, c. 1875.



Plate IX—Alexander P. Forbes, c. 1870.



Plate X—The final section of a Parochial outdoor Procession of Witness, c. 1910.



Plate XI—St Thomas' Church, 1920

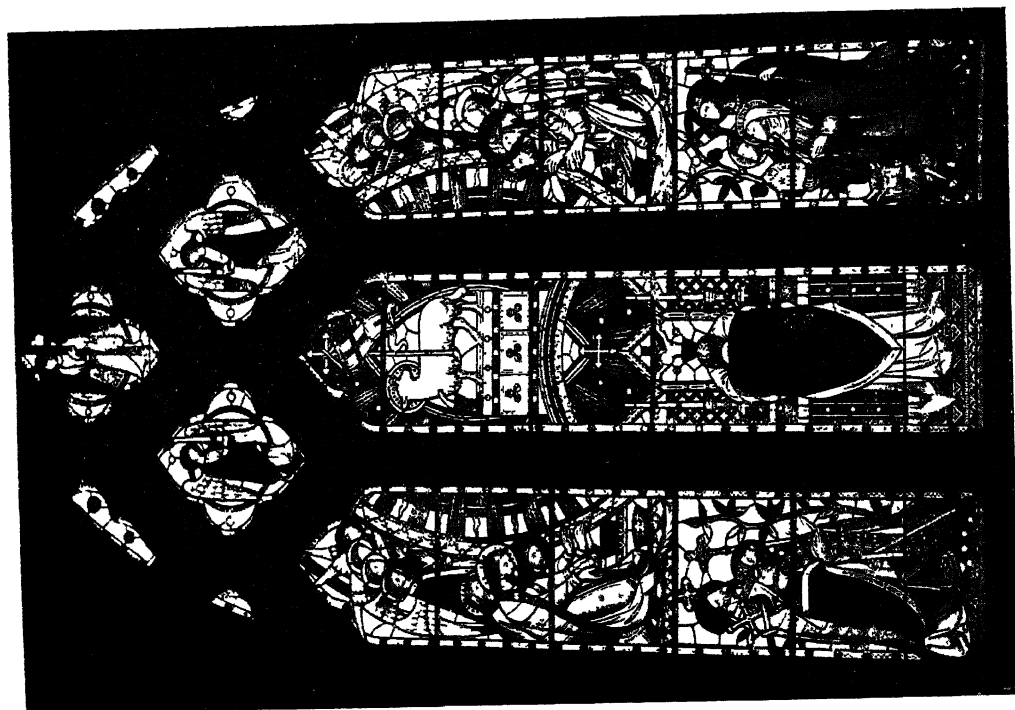


Plate XII—The Eucharistic Window, c. 1875 (erected c. 1854).

PLATE

XI. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

The churchyard cross can be seen on the right, the porch built by Dr. Burton in centre. Miss F. M. F. Skene's grave is indicated by the low kerb near the wall of the church on the extreme left. One of the early Norman windows can just be seen on the extreme right.

XII. *From a photograph by A. R. Mowbray.*

This has been called the Eucharistic Window. Soon after it was placed in the church the subject was attacked by Dr. Peter Maurice as 'an illustration of the license which is allowed to the clergy in inculcating the pernicious doctrines of a ritualizing Romanism by the process of teaching through the eye' (*Ritualism*, 1866).

PLATE

XIII. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

The War Memorial is represented by the large carved statue of the Christ erected at the north-west corner of the chancel. Both altars are furnished with copies of Raphael's pictures ; that in the chancel is the *Madonna d' Foligno*, and at the side altar the *Madonna della Sedia*. The inscriptions on the transverse beams are now in English instead of Latin as shown in Plate vii. The hatchment on the south wall was that affixed on the exterior of Worcester College on the death of Dr. Daniel (see p. 132).

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Plate XIII—St. Thomas' Church, 1927.



Plate XV—Thomas Chamberlain, Vicar 1842–92 (c. 1880).



Plate XIV—Robert Button, D.D., Vicar 1616 39

PLATE

XIV. *From a portrait in oils at Brasenose College, Oxford.*

See pp. 7-9.

XV. *From a photograph by Hills & Saunders.*

See pp. 18-26.

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PLATE

XVI. *From a private photograph.*

A very interesting example of a Priest's Door of the thirteenth century, with the original ironwork intact.

XVII. *From a private photograph.*

'The simple external dedication cross of the Oseney canons, on a long horizontal stone between two shorter perpendicular stones in the masonry of the north-east buttress, is the only example in Oxford' (Rhoda Murray, *The Making of Oxford*, 1912).

XVIII. *From a private photograph.*

See pp. 31-33.

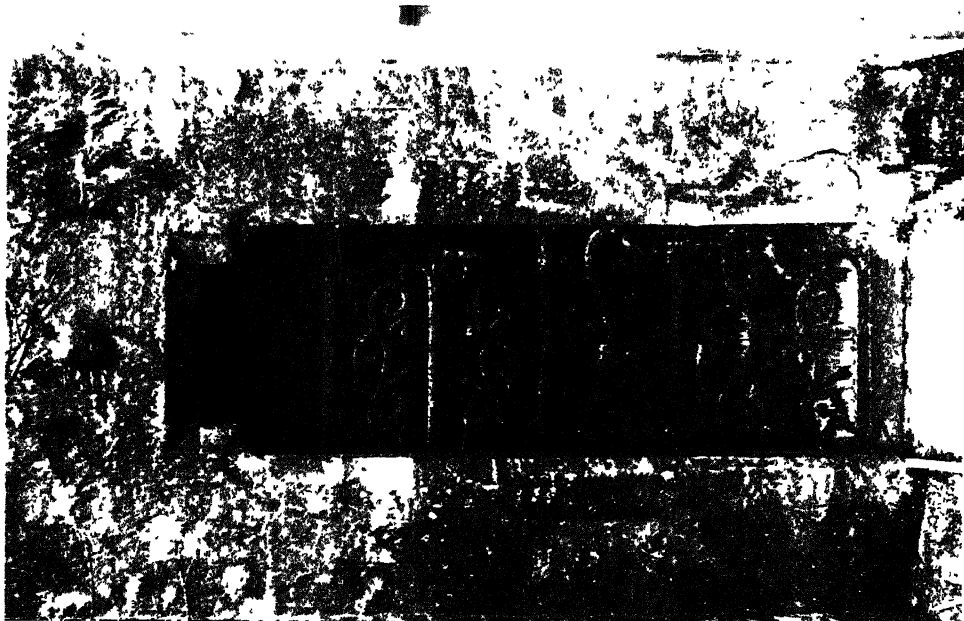


Plate XVI—The Priest's Door, c. 1250



Plate XVII—The Consecration Cross, c. 1200.



Plate XVIII—J. William Washbrook.

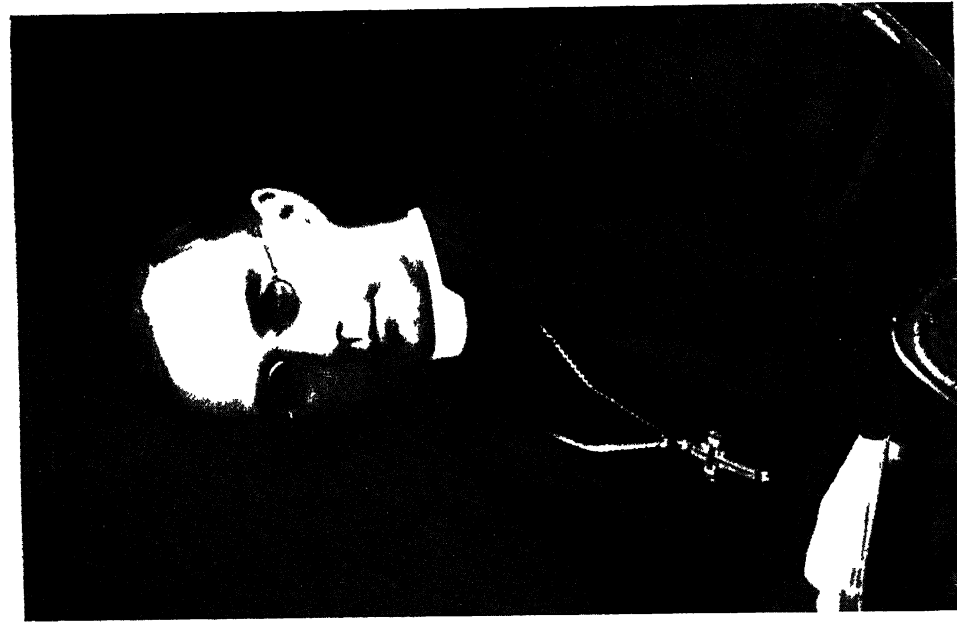


Plate XX—The Right Rev. T. H. Birley, Lord Bishop of Zanzibar ;
Vicar 1896-1908.



Plate XIX—Wentworth Watson, Vicar 1892-96.

PLATE

XIX. *From a private photograph.*

The Rev. Wentworth Watson succeeded Canon Chamberlain as Vicar of S. Thomas', 1892-96. See p. 26.

XX. *From a photograph by Downey & Co., London. By permission of the U.M.C.A.*

The Right Rev. Thomas Howard Birley, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Zanzibar, S. Barnabas' Day, 1924. Vicar of S. Thomas', 1896-1908. See pp. 26, 38.

PLATES

XXI-XXII. *From photographs by J. Soame.*

This ground shown in the first plate was formerly known as Church Street, a thoroughfare between High Street and Osney Lane. See Plate lxxvii.

The Convent buildings since early days have been considerably enlarged and improved almost beyond recognition.

A new chapel was built about 1888 from designs by Mr. Clapton Rolfe. It is a dignified building with stalls for fifty Sisters, the ante-chapel seating about one hundred persons. The screen is of pitch-pine, the large crucifix and figures of our Lady and S. John which surmount it being of oak. Over the high altar is a painting of the Annunciation. There is another altar, of alabaster, erected to the memory of the founder, and a third altar has been placed in the new chapel of the Blessed Sacrament on the north side.



Plate XXI—The Entrance Way to S. Thomas' Convent, 1927.

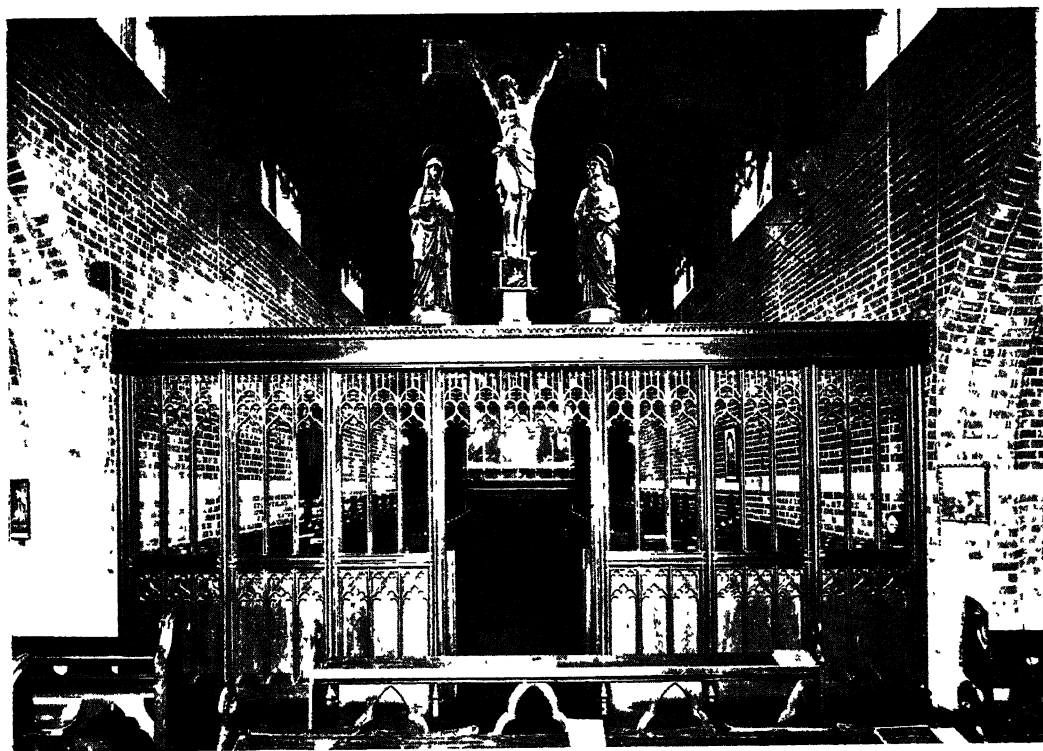
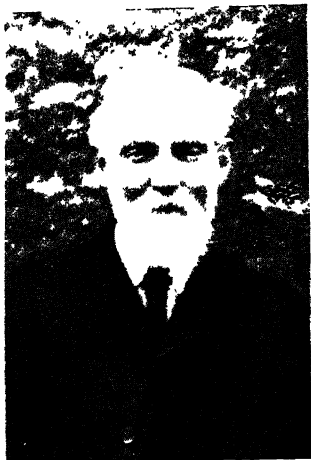


Plate XXII—The Chapel of the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr, 1928.



*Plate XXIII—George Whitaker,
1908.*



*Plate XXIV—Edwin Oliver James, Ph.D.,
D.Litt., F.S.A., 1928.*

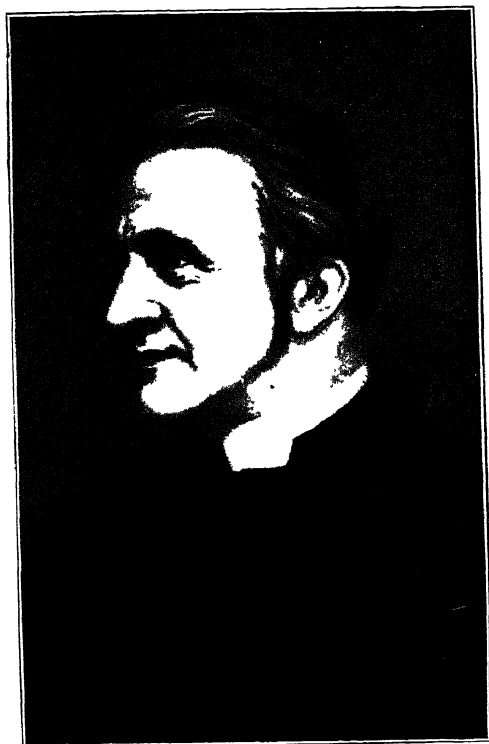


Plate XXV—Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., c. 1880.



Plate XXVI—Alfred Richard Mowbray, c. 1870.

PLATE

XXIII. *Detail from a photographic group by Gillman & Co.*

Mr. George Whitaker was one of the earliest students at Culham Training College. He was appointed headmaster of S. Thomas' Boys' School in 1865 and continued to hold that position until 1894. He also filled the office of parish clerk from 1887 to 1910. He passed to his rest April 18, 1910, aged 87.

XXIV. *From a photograph by Norman Taylor.*

Dr. James succeeded the Rev. B. S. Hack, in 1923, as Vicar of S. Thomas', having previously held the living of Holy Trinity, Reading. He is recognized as a notable scholar and student in anthropology, ancient history, archaeology, and natural science, being especially conversant with these branches of learning in their bearing upon Christianity and the Catholic faith.

XXV. *From a private photograph.*

Dr. Liddon preached his first sermon at S. Thomas' Church on December 21, 1852, the connecting reason apparently being that he and Mr. Chamberlain, the vicar, were both then Senior Students of Christ Church. In later days, when in residence at Christ Church, Dr. Liddon could often be seen wending his way through S. Thomas' towards the west of Oxford for his afternoon's recreative walk.

His fame as a pre-eminent preacher and scholar was generally recognized throughout the country. He was appointed Canon of S. Paul's in 1870, and continued in that office until he died in 1890.

XXVI. *From a private photograph.*

Mr. A. R. Mowbray (the founder of A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd.) is here represented vested in cassock, with a cross, denoting his office as Master of the Brotherhood of the Ascension in the Guild of S. Alban, an important guild of clergy and laity which exists to-day, but flourished on a larger scale with great influence in the 'sixties and 'seventies of last century. See p. 24.

II. OXFORD CASTLE

EARLIEST RECORD OF OXFORD IN HISTORY

THE earliest mention of Oxford in recorded history is A.D. 912, when in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may be read :

‘912. This year died Ethelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Edward took possession of London and Oxford, and all the lands which owed obedience thereto.’

Oxford then ‘ was recognized as no mere isolated village with half a hundred equals in its own vicinity, but as a unit in the national administration, the chief town of a wide district, the seat of the royal authority in its own area, responsible for the peace of the lands which owed it obedience.’¹

THE MOUND

The earthwork known as the Castle Mound is of remarkable interest, for among all the memorials of ancient times now to be seen in Oxford, the mound is probably the oldest, even though there are diverse opinions as to its origin. Up to within twenty years or so ago it was apparently thought by most, if not all, competent authorities that the mound was ‘ wrought ’ by our Saxon forefathers of the tenth century. But now it is contended by more than one expert that mounds such as at Oxford and other places were the work of the conquering Normans of the eleventh century. As, however, it seems to be recognized that the earthworks of early castles like Oxford still present many unsolved problems, it may be well to briefly touch upon the two theories which concern the origin of our own historic mound.

The older theory as to the origin of the mound practically coincides with the date of the earliest mention of Oxford, viz. A.D. 912. At this time the Thames was already a well-used waterway by which London communicated with towns such as Reading, Wallingford, Abingdon, and Oxford, all situated on its banks. The invading Danes were still very active in their plundering and merciless warfare, by armed expeditions in boats up the estuaries and rivers, so that it was important that the Anglo-Saxons should have command of the main rivers

¹ Prof. R. S. Rait, Oxford Millenary Lecture.

at certain points. That Oxford was already important by A.D. 912 is shown by its being coupled with London in securing the obedience of Mercia to King Edward the Elder. With the Thames and Cherwell on its border it was admirably situated for defence against land forces on the east, west, and south, but it was dangerously open towards the north, and without a fortress the town would have been much at the mercy of the Danes in their attacks whether by land or water. In A.D. 912 the fort was almost new, for the Danes who invaded the Thames eighteen years before do not seem to have encountered any resistance.

Ethelfleda, sister of King Edward, and familiarly termed the 'Lady of the Mercians,' constructed about A.D. 912-913 fortifications at Tamworth, Warwick, Marlborough, and other places on river banks. Although there is no known record of anything being constructed at Oxford at this time, it has been noted that a common feature of the fortifications at the places just named is a conical mound of earth, and those at Tamworth and Warwick are remarkably similar to that at Oxford. To this period (A.D. 912-913) then some authorities have attributed the construction of the mound at Oxford Castle, as a part of a chain of defence to resist the incursion of the Danes. As London was the key to the lower Thames, so Oxford became a strategic point for the upper Thames.

Against this view other authorities contend that the origin of the mound is contemporary with the Norman period. It is urged¹ that the Normans were the only people capable of constructing a series of great earthworks over a large area, and that moreover the Saxon method of fortification was that of the *burh*, which was large enough to protect the whole community, and something very different to a large mound of earth.

In the face of these conflicting views it is obviously impossible to say anything very definite as to the origin of the mound. However, it may be reasonably conceived that there was a settlement here in Saxon days, with perhaps a royal residence of some kind, and it does not seem improbable that the mound was then first 'wrought' or constructed, though it may have been of more moderate dimensions than it eventually became in Norman times.

THE SAXON 'BURH'

Much about the Saxon *burh* does not seem very clear, though probably it included an earth bank, with a stockade towards the top, and a ditch at the outer borders of a larger area. The existing mound was in certain periods apparently only one of a series in and about the castle area, although doubtless the others, like Jews' Mount and Mount Pelham, were of much smaller proportions.

In A.D. 924 Alfward, King Edward's son, died at Oxford, and this suggests that the accommodation was sufficiently good for a royal prince; and it may also be surmised that Oxford was so important a town as to warrant the king placing it under the special charge of his son, and that while so acting as lord over

¹ For example by the late Sir W. St. John Hope in the *Archaeological Journal* for December, 1910.

Oxford he died at the place appointed as the royal residence. If, as seems possible, the Saxon *burh* of Oxford, with a seat of royal authority, was at or about the site of the mound, then presumably most of the recorded events regarding Oxford in the tenth and eleventh centuries took place within the domains of the castle site.

WITENAGEMOTS, OR GREAT COUNCILS, AT OXFORD IN SAXON TIMES

Many of the meetings held here were of national importance, and it would appear that whenever any solemn deliberation or act was to be determined, concerning northern and southern England, Oxford was the place chosen for the occasion. Doubtless its central position on the very border-line of Wessex and Mercia, making it a convenient meeting-place, had something to do with the choice, as well as the fact that the town was situated on the banks of the Thames, giving it strategical importance and because at that time rivers were the chief means of communication. In 1015 Oxford was the centre of the struggle for English freedom, the Witenagemot, or great council of the kingdom, being held here to organize the national resistance against the Danes. The meeting was, however, dishonoured by a ghastly crime, two of the chief thanes being betrayed and murdered by the treachery of Eadric, ealdorman of Mercia. In the fighting which followed Oxford was loyal to Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside, who succeeded to the throne in 1016, and who struggled bravely against the Danes, now led by Canute. Very soon, it would appear, Edmund was treacherously murdered at Oxford, the betrayer again being the infamous Eadric.

Following a Witenagemot called by Canute and held in London, at which the general settlement of the country was arranged, another important and special Witenagemot was held at Oxford in 1018, for deciding what should be accepted as the common law of the land: with the result that Danes and Saxons unanimously adopted the English laws of Edgar. England was now entirely under the Danish king Canute; and the holding of this last council at Oxford again indicates the importance of the town, while the result of the meeting manifests a reconciliation between subjects and king, for henceforth through Canute's reign Saxon and Dane lived peaceably together.

In 1036 Canute died at Shaftesbury, and immediately after there was held at Oxford an assembly of the Witenagemot of all England to consider rival claims to the throne. Earl Leofric and his friends desired Harold Harefoot, who was to be succeeded by Harthacanute, but Earl Godwin and his party preferred to see the English line of kings restored. Harold was elected and, some authorities say, crowned at Oxford by the Archbishop of York. Only four years later King Harold died at Oxford, and the record seems to imply that his death occurred within the castle precincts, and that the Bishop of Crediton with others were attending him.

In 1065 another Witenagemot was held at Oxford under Earl Harold, Godwin's son, at which Harold's brother, Tostig, was renounced and outlawed for rebellion ; and, strange as it may seem, here at Oxford, where in 1018 English law was adopted, in 1065 Dane law is now accepted as the common law of the land.

ROBERT D'OYLEY, THE FIRST NORMAN GOVERNOR OF OXFORD CASTLE

It is not clear at what date this part of England submitted to William the Conqueror, but eventually Oxford and the district around was in charge of the Norman baron, Robert D'Oyley, who apparently ruled in a vigorous way, enforcing order as a soldier, and, amongst other things, it is said, considerably increased the taxation of the town, while neighbouring landowners were forced to supply men to form part of the garrison. Probably the work which the Conqueror set his governor to do necessitated a strong, forcible line of action, money especially being needed for the cost of strengthening the defences.

Robert D'Oyley made a brilliant marriage with the daughter and heiress of Wigod of Wallingford, who had been cupbearer to King Edward the Confessor and who by early submission and loyal service to the Conqueror had the distinction of being one of the few English magnates to retain rank and wealth under the Norman king. Wigod's son, Tokig, having fallen in battle in the Conqueror's service, his sister inherited all their father's lands, and so D'Oyley became the greatest landowner in Oxfordshire.

It is said that the first Governor of Oxford Castle at one time owned about one-eighth of all the houses in Oxford, and although he managed in one way or another to make himself very rich and powerful, it should be remembered that he was also eventually a founder and restorer of Oxford churches.¹ To this day S. Peter's-in-the-East, S. Michael's-at-the-North-Gate, the crypt of S. George's-in-the-Castle, serve to remind us of his benefactions in this way.

Apparently the king had very great confidence in Robert D'Oyley, for later on, when Henry his youngest son was being educated at Abingdon Abbey, he was practically placed under the watchful care of the Governor of Oxford Castle. There is no record of the Conqueror visiting Oxford, yet, as the Abingdon Chronicle tells us the king was often in that district, it seems quite probable that the work of fortifying Oxford Castle was carried out in accordance with his personal desires. Robert D'Oyley died in 1090, and was buried at Abingdon Abbey. As he left no heir, Nigel D'Oyley, his brother, succeeded in the barony, though it is not clear that he likewise succeeded to the office of Governor of Oxford.

¹ 'At his first coming into these parts he was accounted a robber of the church and poore, continuing soe to be til such time [as] he had received a vision from the Virgin Mary; which, converting him, his hard hart was mollified and became a nourisher of the poore and a builder and repairer of churches' (Anthony Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. II. *supra*).

ROBERT D'OYLEY'S PILLAGES

The Oseney Register implies that Robert D'Oyley also pillaged without scruple the property and supplies of the monasteries in the neighbourhood as well as of private citizens. Particular mention is made in this way regarding a meadow¹ outside the walls of Oxford belonging to Abingdon Abbey, which was appropriated for the use of the soldiers at the castle. The story runs that the monks of Abingdon were much troubled about this, and in their grief earnestly prayed that the robber might be brought to repentance, or punished. Soon after, D'Oyley had a serious illness, during which he had a dream, which so terrified him, that upon the entreaties of his wife he was, as soon as possible, rowed down the river to Abingdon Abbey, where before the high altar, it is said, he acknowledged his guilt, made restitution of the meadow,² and gave a large sum towards the rebuilding of the abbey.

THE BUILDING OF THE CASTLE

A feature of Oxford Castle is its low site by the riverside, instead of at the highest part of the town, as is usually the position. This may imply that Robert D'Oyley found at, or around, the site of the mound considerable fortifications which he decided to enlarge and strengthen, rather than build a new castle³ elsewhere.

In the Oseney Register it is recorded that in '1071 the same year was built the Castle of Oxford by Robert D'Oyley the first.' The word 'built' as used by the old chronicler does not necessarily mean that the Norman lord built *anew* everything requisite for a castle. The old tower called S. George's Tower which still exists close to the mound is probably part of the castle built in 1071,⁴ which would also include the usual adjuncts of a Norman castle, possibly replacing the older Saxon huts and barracks. D'Oyley also, it is thought, extended the old walls, made or deepened the moat, and with the earth excavated therefrom built the mound, or enlarged a former earthwork.

Upon the summit of the mound there was doubtless first erected a wooden

¹ The meadow here referred to is thought to have been that named 'King's Mead,' and its conjectural position is seen on the map given as Plate lxxiii.

² 'The great abbey was able to obtain restoration of its property, but it is almost certain that the humbler citizens must have suffered in the same way, and for them there was no redress' (Prof. R. S. Rait, Oxford Millenary Lecture).

³ 'The town, though less than two hundred years old, had grown into a place of considerable size' and was 'the obvious place for King William to select as the third of his great fortresses for the guarding of the line of the Thames: even if it had not been so notable as a strategical point, it would have demanded a castle on account of its political importance' (Sir Charles W. Oman, M.P., *Castles*).

⁴ 'But,' says Sir Charles Oman, 'was this D'Oyley's work? . . . In the Pact of Wallingford between Stephen and Henry of Anjou in 1153, Oxford is spoken of (like Windsor) as a *mota*, not as a castle. At that date, then, the mound was still its most prominent feature. . . . I am driven to conclude . . . that S. George's Tower is much later than S. George's Church, whether we ascribe it to Henry I or to Henry II, whose rolls of accounts show that he was spending much money on Oxford Castle between 1165 and 1173. Possibly the "keep" mentioned in them may be S. George's Tower, and not (as might have seemed more probable for some reasons) the stone building on top of the mound, which certainly existed in the thirteenth century' (*Castles*).

structure of defence, which would give it a certain dominating power as it overlooked the whole neighbourhood. In later years, when the ground had become more settled, this was replaced by a stone keep tower. The strengthening of the fortress in this way was due to two things : first, to guard the passage of the Thames at Oxford—rivers being still the chief means of transport ; and secondly, a castle was necessary in Oxford to provide a prison for those of the conquered race who were likely to do harm in revolt, these apparently being not a few.

At about the same period castles were built at London, Windsor, and Wallingford; and of these Oxford was probably second only to London in point of strength, its proximity to the western counties giving it great strategic importance. These castles were placed in charge of persons whom the new king could trust, and the first Governor of Oxford Castle seems to have had this confidence in a high degree.

It should be remembered that Oxford Castle site was in earlier times much larger than it is to-day. Formerly the area included not only the ground now occupied by the existing tower, the prison, the mound, the County Hall, Police Station and offices, but also the greater part of New Road, with the canal wharf and its boundaries to the north. 'The shape of the castle was rather circular than polygonal, and there were slight angles in its circumference, but not such marked ones that one could speak of its having definite sides. The defences were the normal ones for a primitive post-conquest fortress—a *motte*, a bailey below, marked by a ditch and palisade beyond the ditch—for traces of such a structure appear in our earliest maps (Agas, 1578, and Loggan, 1675). The low-lying position of the bailey made it possible to fill the ditch with water for all, or nearly all, its circuit.'¹

KING STEPHEN AND THE EMPRESS MAUD

After the death of Henry I, in 1135, in spite of the barons having sworn to give allegiance to Henry's daughter Matilda (or Maud), who had married the Emperor Henry V, the citizens of London elected Earl Stephen, Henry's nephew, as king. Thus again there arose rival claims to the throne which considerably affected Oxford Castle. The same year a great council, or parliament, was held at Oxford, at which Stephen ratified 'the solemn promises which he had made to God, the people, and the holy Church, on the day of his coronation.'

Stephen did not long display the ruling abilities of a king, for at another great council of nobles held at Oxford in 1139 he committed the great blunder of his reign, by seizing and imprisoning in Oxford Castle the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, both of whom had been Ministers of State to the late king. This act cost Stephen the support of the clergy, and opened the way for

¹ Sir Charles W. Oman, M.P., *Castles*.

the Empress Maud's returning to England. Soon there was civil war. Stephen was imprisoned for a time, but eventually released.

Then comes the event with which Oxford Castle is so closely associated in popular history. In 1141 Robert D'Oyley the second surrendered the castle to the Empress, and it became the head-quarters of her party. In the autumn of the following year she had to flee there for refuge. Stephen soon followed, and after sacking the town besieged the castle for three months—from Michaelmas to mid-winter. He occupied Beaumont Palace and set up earthworks on the ground known as Broken Hayes,¹ from whence the castle fortifications were battered incessantly.²

At the end of ten weeks the food of the castle failed, and the Empress saw that unless she could make her escape she must either starve or fall into Stephen's hands. The winter was severe enough for the Thames and its by-streams to have frozen into strong ice, and on a night in December, 1142, with snow falling fast, making ground and trees alike very white, the Empress, accompanied by three knights all clad in white, successfully contrived to get through the sentinels,³ and making their way over the frozen river, walked to Abingdon, from thence riding to Wallingford Castle.

Immediately afterwards Oxford Castle was surrendered to Stephen, who put in charge William de Chesney, one of his followers. Robert D'Oyley had died in September, about a fortnight before the siege began. At another council held at Oxford in 1154 the earls and barons formally recognized Stephen, and swore fealty to Henry, son of the Empress Maud, as heir to the Crown.

In 1161 (or before) when Henry II by charter gave to Oxford many liberties and concessions, it is interesting to note that the document was witnessed by Thomas Becket, as Chancellor of England, afterwards to be known as the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury and the patron saint of our parish.

FURTHER FORTIFICATIONS AT THE CASTLE

In the same reign, from 1165 to 1173, very important fortresses were erected in various parts of the country owing to the disturbances led by the insubordinate

¹ Now called George Street Mews

² Probably some of the stone balls found at the bottom of the well in the mound in the eighteenth century are relics of this period.

³ 'Maud, who had been accustomed to all sorts of stratagems; and was never at a loss for resources and expedients; who had before this adventure escaped from Winchester Castle, on a swift horse, taking advantage of a pretended truce, allowed for the sake of performing the religious ceremonies of the festival of the Holy Cross; and on another occasion had escaped from the Castle of the Devises: by being conveyed through the whole country then in the possession of King Stephen, as a dead corps, in a funeral hearse, or bier: now assumed at Oxford an invisible shape. For being clad in bright white raiment, as well as three knights her attendants: and the river being frozen: and the country all covered with snow. she boldly rushed out of Oxford Castle in the middle of the night: and escaping the eyes of the besiegers, by means of the brightness of her garments, got first to Abingdon; and then safe to Wallingford Castle' (E. King, *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, 1796).

King adds a footnote saying, 'Almost all the antient historians . . . agree in suggesting that there was some degree of treachery in Stephen's soldiers, joined with the artifice of the white raiment.'

barons. There are records of considerable sums of money being spent at this period at Oxford Castle—houses, keep, and well being specially mentioned. Possibly the decagonal keep tower on the mound was built at this time.¹ In 1203-4 and 1206 there are State records of payments for the repair of the king's house and other parts of the castle. In 1235, when Henry III reigned, a tower (or towers) with an embattled wall and trench were added; and at about the same time it is thought the well chamber at the mound was built, the two bridges repaired, and the moat cleansed.

It can only be conjectured what the castle was like as the result of the work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it has been suggested that Loggan's view, as given on Plate xxxiv, after some allowance for artistic embellishment of details, represents practically most of the main features. However that may be, there can be no doubt that at this period Oxford Castle was one of the stateliest in England and regarded as a very important fortress.²

THE SESSIONS HOUSE

Included in the castle area would be the great hall, which, it has been said, would be indispensable for the common life of the garrison, and that built by Robert D'Oyley about 1074 was probably near to, or upon, the site of the Saxon court-house where national meetings were traditionally held in pre-conquest days. The Norman hall in later days was called the Sessions House and is clearly shown in the earliest maps.

Henry I visited Oxford in 1107, but it was not until 1130 that he built the new palace of Beaumont (on the site of the present Beaumont Street), which henceforth eclipsed Oxford Castle as a royal residence. Possibly, however, the important meetings were continued to be held at the Sessions House in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and perhaps later; but it must be admitted that the building or buildings in which these meetings were held cannot be definitely located. There is no known record on this point, but the site and size of the Sessions House tend to make it as convenient, or more so, than any other building known to exist here at the time. For some now inexplicable reason this fine building, which must have possessed some good architectural features, was allowed to fall into decay, and ultimately to disappear.

¹ Some authorities, however, suggest that the stone keep was not built until 1235.

² 'We know that the castle itself and the great city walls were believed to make Oxford one of the strongest places in England' (Prof. R. S. Rait, Oxford Millenary Lecture).

'We gather from the twenty-three Liberate Rolls of Henry III that the Castle of Oxford contained every convenience befitting the royal inmates' 'In the reign of Henry III it may be inferred that . . . there was observable in the early arrangements various other buildings such as the garrison chapel, Chaplain's House, the Hall, the Kitchen . . . the chambers of the King and Queen, and his private chapel.'

'The Close Rolls . . . of Edward II mentions an allowance to Richard Damory, Warden of Oxford Castle, of the wages of six men-at-arms and twelve footmen retained in the Castle, for its safe custody; and also for thirty quarters of corn, sixty quarters of malt, four tuns of wine, ten quarters of salt, ten carcases of beef, forty hogs, and five hundred dried fish, to be provided for the Castle.'

(C. W. Hartshorne, *Memoirs communicated to the Archaeological Institution Meeting held at Oxford in 1850*).

'The Black Assize'

In July, 1577, occurred the dreadful 'Black Assize.' At that time the High Sheriff was Sir Robert D'Oyley, a descendant of the first Norman governor. Among other prisoners, Rowland Jencks, a 'pestilent bookseller,' was tried 'for having in his house bulls, libels, and such things against the Queen and religion,' and condemned to lose his ears. Either Jencks or some of his fellow prisoners must have been in a flagrantly insanitary condition, for, by a poisonous stench arising from the prisoners or the prison quarters, they were the cause of a strange contagious disease which resulted in the deaths of the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, two knights, eight Justices of the Peace, and nearly all the Grand Jury. The plague spread to other people of the town and University, and it is said over five hundred died.¹

THE CASTLE FIRST USED AS A PRISON

Early in the reign of Henry III permission was given for a portion of the castle to be used as a prison, at first to the Chancellor of the University for rebellious clerks, and soon afterwards, in 1239, by Act of Parliament it was appointed the common jail of the county.

SIGNS OF DECAY IN THE BUILDINGS

In 1258 payments were made for repairs to the 'large bridge,' and in 1267 an inquisition reported that further repairs were necessary in various parts of the castle. In 1331 (Edward III) the jurors of another inquisition reported a general decay in the walls, turrets, and houses, especially the turret over the Oseney gate, which was so bad as to be dangerous to pedestrians. The jurors pointed out that for the repair of this turret the Abbot of Oseney was responsible. It was further reported that the old hall, with the kitchen and two chambers for the Custos of S. George's College, required considerable repair, and the bakehouse, brewhouse, and stables were roofless.

As a result of this inquiry the king ordered the keeper of Shotover forest to supply timber for repairs, and the sheriff to pay out of the royal rents of the county the money necessary for the same purpose. By 1336 these repairs were carried out and the castle was apparently again in good order. Forty-five years later, in 1381, the sheriff was again directed to pay out of the rents the charges for the repair of two gates and a bridge.

¹ 'About six hundred sickened in one night, as a physician that now lived in Oxford attesteth; and the day after, the infectious air being carried into the next villages, sickened there an hundred more.'

'The 15th, 16th, and 17th day of July sickened also above three hundred persons, and within twelve days' space died an hundred scholars, besides many citizens. The number of persons that died in five weeks' space, namely, from the 6th of July to the 12th of August (for no longer this violent infection continue) were three hundred in Oxford, and two hundred and odd in other places; so that the whole number that died in that time were five hundred and ten persons, of whom many bled till they expired' (attributed to Anthony Wood and quoted in Turner's *Records of the City of Oxford*, 1509-83).

From this time onwards the history of Oxford Castle tends to further deteriorate. The castle with the mill were given by Edward VI (1547-53) to the See of Oxford, but they were confiscated by Queen Elizabeth.

THE CIVIL WAR OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For four years Oxford was practically the centre of the Royalist cause. Many prisoners were incarcerated at the castle, including the Parliamentary general, Edmund Ludlow, who mentions in his memoirs that when taken prisoner in 1644 he found there very many other officers of mark in similar circumstances. But it was not the scene of any outstanding feature of the siege of Oxford, or of the war generally between Royalists and Puritans.

Among the governors of the castle at this period was Sir Jacob Astley, a prominent Royalist officer, and Sir Thomas Glenham was governor when Oxford surrendered on June 24, 1646, to Fairfax, the Puritan general. A few years later the castle was considerably strengthened by the Parliamentarians as a garrison, under Colonel Draper. The ruins of four towers, besides the tower over the gate, were pulled down and new bulwarks erected on the outer mounds. The work involved an expenditure of some £2,000, and took two years to carry out.

In 1652, in the reign of Charles II, the castle was divested of the new work erected just previously, and from that time became exclusively the common jail and house of correction for the county. James I early in the seventeenth century sold the castle and certain stone walls were destroyed, but the moat remained and was used for boating and fishing.

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

John Wesley often visited, and ministered to, the prisoners in 1738. From 1750 to 1775 the prison buildings were apparently in a dilapidated condition, for escapes and attempted escapes were very common at that period.

About 1776 a new road from Queen Street to Botley Road was constructed, cutting through the castle area and the base of the mound. The moat was then filled up. There were suggestions made at the time for the removal of the entire mound to allow of the road running in quite a straight line from Carfax to Botley Road, but happily other and wiser counsels prevailed. A few years later the promoters of the Oxford Canal obtained possession of the ground north of the castle area, and in the excavations and alterations then made the last traces of the moat disappeared.

Between 1783 and 1785 the county magistrates adopted resolutions in regard to enlarging the precincts of the prison. Some additional ground was purchased of Christ Church, but it was not until 1805 that the rebuilding scheme was completed, the total cost being nearly £20,000. With the exception of the

old tower, and a portion of the crypt at the Church of S. George, all the old buildings were swept away.

Since then various alterations and additions have been made at the prison to meet statutory requirements. Up to about 1834 a road¹ through the castle yard, from Castle Street to Titmouse Lane, near Quaking Bridge, was kept open for traffic, toll being demanded of all vehicles. A trace of the opening through the castle area still exists on the north side of Castle Street, and the heraldic arms of the D'Oyleys may yet be seen above the doorway of No. 12 Castle Street.

PUBLIC EXECUTIONS

Until 1863 death sentences in England were carried out publicly, the last public execution at Oxford Castle being on March 23, 1863.²

The Assize Courts which adjoin the prison were built in 1841. The Oxford County Police Station adjoining the mound on the west was at one time also used as the Oxford Militia armoury and barracks. This was previous to the building of the barracks at Cowley about 1876. The County Council Offices at the south-west corner of New Road were completed in 1912.

THE CHURCH AND COLLEGE OF S. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-CASTLE 3

Although S. George's existed for nearly five centuries but little is known concerning its history. The church was founded in 1074 by Robert D'Oyley and Roger D'Ivri, 'sworn brethren by faith and sacrament,' and being situated within the castle precincts was known as S. George's-in-the-Castle, and from the first was used as a garrison chapel. Simultaneously the founders also established a college for secular canons. The college was endowed with considerable property, including the church of S. Mary Magdalene, Oxford; land in the manor of Walton, Oxford; at Cassington, Sandford, and elsewhere; the churches and estate of Cowley, Oxon., and Stowe, Bucks. The college also received the tithe of nearly seventy manors of the founders which were scattered over Oxfordshire and four adjoining counties. Probably the college com-

¹ See Plate xxix.

² 'The last public execution in Oxford was on March 23, 1863—fifty-six years ago—and the writer of this note, who was present, well remembers the huge crowd which assembled to witness it. The gallows was erected on the low tower over the entrance to the prison, and every available space in view of it was occupied. Hundreds came in from the country in the early hours of the morning, so as to secure a favourable position, small boys climbed the lamp posts, and the canal wharf wall and the stacks of coal were seized upon as vantage points. Coarse jests and ribald laughter were to be heard on every side, but a strange—almost painful—silence came over the scene as the principal figure in the drama took his place under the fatal beam. Scarcely any one, however, moved till an hour later, when the body was taken down. Such scenes were degrading and demoralizing, and the legislature did wisely in making them impossible for the future' (*Oxford Times*, Feb. 21, 1919).

³ The main authority for this section is the article by the Rev. H. E. Salter in the 'Victoria County Histories,' *Oxford*, vol. II.

prised five canons, as in later days that corresponded to the number of priests Oseney Abbey was bound to maintain there.

The early members included some very notable men, among whom were Walter Map the famous scholar and Archdeacon of Oxford in the twelfth century, who eventually became head of the college ; Robert de Chesney, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln (1148-66) ; and Geoffrey of Monmouth, the historian of the century.

Its existence as a college for secular canons came to an end in 1149 when Henry D'Oyley, nephew of Robert D'Oyley, and John of St. John, who had succeeded to Roger D'Ivri, gave to Oseney Abbey the church and college of S. George with all its possessions and endowments, subject to certain conditions affecting the canons then in office. After this the work of the college was practically transferred to Oseney. The Abbey seemingly maintained two canons and thirteen ' ministers ' for the daily services of the church of S. George, as even after the church of S. Thomas was built the older parish church continued to be used by parishioners inhabiting the castle area and probably by others who lived in the tenements immediately adjoining.

In the church were several chantries to the memory of the founders and other benefactors. King Henry III when visiting the church in 1263 presented it with several valuable ornaments and an endowment of £5 per year for the care and repair of same. Over the altar was a large carved stone statue of S. George, before which wax candles were always burning. Every year the feast of S. George was observed with great devotion by members of the college, parishioners, and Oxford citizens generally, while throughout the day at Oseney Abbey the abbot generously entertained all the visitors as guests. There are records of Oseney Abbey supplying the church of S. George with four gallons of oil each quarter, incense twice a year, bread and wine for Holy Communion, a special ' torch ' on Christmas Day, and forty-two pounds of wax candles towards the end of Christmastide each year.

In 1474 a charge was made against Oseney that they were not fulfilling their obligation of maintaining five secular priests and certain scholars at S. George's. An inquiry was held and the charge was not proved. About 1480 the abbey refounded the college of S. George as a kind of hostel for University students, who occupied the buildings used by the secular canons of earlier days. The restored college consisted of a warden, always a canon of Oseney, five priest-fellows, twelve scholars, and the commoners. The priest-fellows, all of whom were of the secular clergy, when admitted had to take oath that if they died there they would leave something to the college, to help defray the charges of maintaining the wax-lights always burning before the high altar. They were also enjoined to pray daily in the church for the soul of Robert D'Oyley the founder. The scholars, among other things, had to promise that they would ' not climb over the castle wall in night time.' The warden did not permanently reside at S. George's, although at least once a week, and sometimes

more, he slept there. As often as this happened during the first twelve days of Christmastide, the scholars would go to Oseney Abbey,¹ and there await until the warden was ready to return to S. George's. The sexton or clerk of the college always led the procession, carrying a lighted torch, and the canon would be followed by the scholars. When they reached the wayside cross at the Hamel, by the warden's direction all would begin to sing a hymn, and so proceed to the castle, where, at the canon's door, the scholars bade him good-night, and then retired to their own quarters.

A record of 1523 indicates that Oseney Abbey paid £8 per annum as alms to six poor scholars in the castle of Oxford, and items of expenditure in regard to S. George's frequently occur in the abbey accounts right up to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. As the church and college of S. George depended so much on Oseney, naturally when the abbey was surrendered to the king the work of S. George's came to an end.

Exterior views of S. George's Church, with its apse as it stood about 1772, are given in Plates xli–xliii; there are several indications showing the line of the roof and other details. This church, which probably was built upon the older foundations, existed in a more or less decayed state till about 1795, or perhaps even ten years later, when it was demolished to make way for the new prison buildings.

The Crypt of S. George's Church.

The beautiful crypt claims special notice, not only because of its antiquity (c. 1074), but also to disentangle some confusion amongst writers as to its identification as well as its relative position in the plan of the old church of S. George. In *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*² there is an account of the discovery of

'A most curious little Saxon crypt . . . about 70 feet from the tower . . . 20 feet long, including the semicircular part at the end; and 20 feet wide; supported by four pillars . . . having a sort of odd disproportion, and neatness of work, almost peculiar to the earlier Saxon ages, about the year 700.'

King also implies that the crypt which he describes was taken down and rebuilt some eighteen inches or more from its pristine position to make room for the foundations of the new prison.

A picture of this crypt is given on Plate xlvi. It is taken from King's book, which states that it represents 'an exact drawing made by Mr. Harris just as it appeared when first examined.' It is somewhat strange that King makes

¹ 'The Sexton shall upon Christmas Eve demaund of the Sacrist, or him that keepes the Wax lights in Osney, a Torch which hee shall carry the Christmas Hollydaies, and as often as need shall bee betweene that and the Epiphane, when that it shall please him to lodge there. And it is to be noted, that all the Schollars throughout the wholl yeare, as often as the Warden shall lodge in the Castle, as soone as supper is ended, shall in the Court expect their Master, 'till hee bee ready to goe home, and shall bring him to the Hamlett, and there sing an Hymne by his appointment, 'till such tyme as hee was come to Osney, and they returned againe unto the Castle' (Leonard Hutten, *Elizabethan Oxford*. Ed. by Charles Plummer).

In the note here given the author implies that the procession was from the castle (S. George's College) to Oseney, which is just contrary to Anthony Wood's account where he states that the procession was from Oseney Abbey to the castle.

² By Edward King, published in 1796.

mention of no other crypt, and this has probably led to many writers wrongly identifying the crypt existing to-day with the crypt described and pictured by him in 1796. That King did not write of the crypt still to be seen seems abundantly clear from the result of a careful investigation made on the site by Mr. C. A. Lynam, F.S.A. In a paper concerning both crypts contributed to the *Archaeological Journal*¹ he says :

‘The crypt as figured by King and described by him has no relation whatever in its plan, proportions, or dimensions to the part of the crypt now existing, for the former is stated to be 8 feet high, with four pillars in the middle, and 20 feet long by 20 feet wide, including the semicircular end ; while the latter has six pillars in the middle, is 10 feet in height, 32 feet 9 inches long by 26 feet wide, entirely without any circular end.’

Notwithstanding these differences and difficulties, the crypt described by King without doubt existed up to 1772, if not later, and ought to be accounted for, and the relative position of both crypts allotted on the site of S. George’s Church. The latter problem appears to be satisfactorily solved by the plans given in Plate xlviii, which show very clearly the position of both crypts as deduced by Mr. Lynam. Happily one part of the crypt can still be seen in an excellent state of preservation (see Plate xlvii), and unhappily there can be little doubt that King’s crypt was unfortunately destroyed to meet the requirements of the new prison buildings erected at the end of the eighteenth century.

The general construction of the crypt of S. George’s is similar to another at S. Peter’s-in-the-East, though more massive in its proportions and more majestic in appearance. As regards the nave and chancel of S. George’s Church, it will be seen from Mr. Lynam’s conjectural plan that he has placed the west end against the great tower, the east end over the apsidal crypt, and the middle portion over the existing crypt. The measurements are about 118 feet in length by about 25 feet in width, and it is said that the original church of S. Peter-in-the-East varied very little from this plan.

¹ September, 1911, pp. 205-20.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER II

PLATE

XXVII. *Printed in E. King's 'Vestiges of Oxford Castle,' 1796.*

Represents the author's conjecture of the castle in Norman ages. (*a*) Oseney Bridge and Gate, originally the main entrance, leading to a tower at (*b*) which nearly agrees, constructionally, with the entrance tower at Arundel Castle. From this tower there was a covered way and a series of steps on the top of the wall (*2*) to the keep tower (*k*) on the mound, the entrance to the stairway being by a narrow door probably at (*y*), again nearly in the same manner as at Arundel. The existing tower is at (*s*). S. George's Church is (*c*), the apartments adjoining (*dd*), and the crypt at (*x*). The round tower built in Henry III's time is at (*e*). At (*f*) the square tower adjoining the original postern of the castle, which in later ages became the chief entrance owing to the decay of the Oseney Gate. (*g g*) indicates the fortified bridge over the fosse, some eighty feet long. Three other towers are represented at (*h*), (*i*), (*l*). (*k*) the decagonal keep tower, and (*m*) the Great Hall or Sessions House. (*nn*) possibly represents the position of various chambers, etc. (*p*) represents approximately the site of the present entrance to the castle. The branch of the Thames running by the castle is marked (*r r r*). A possible position for a lock or dam is at (*t t t*). (*w*) is the approximate position of a second well.

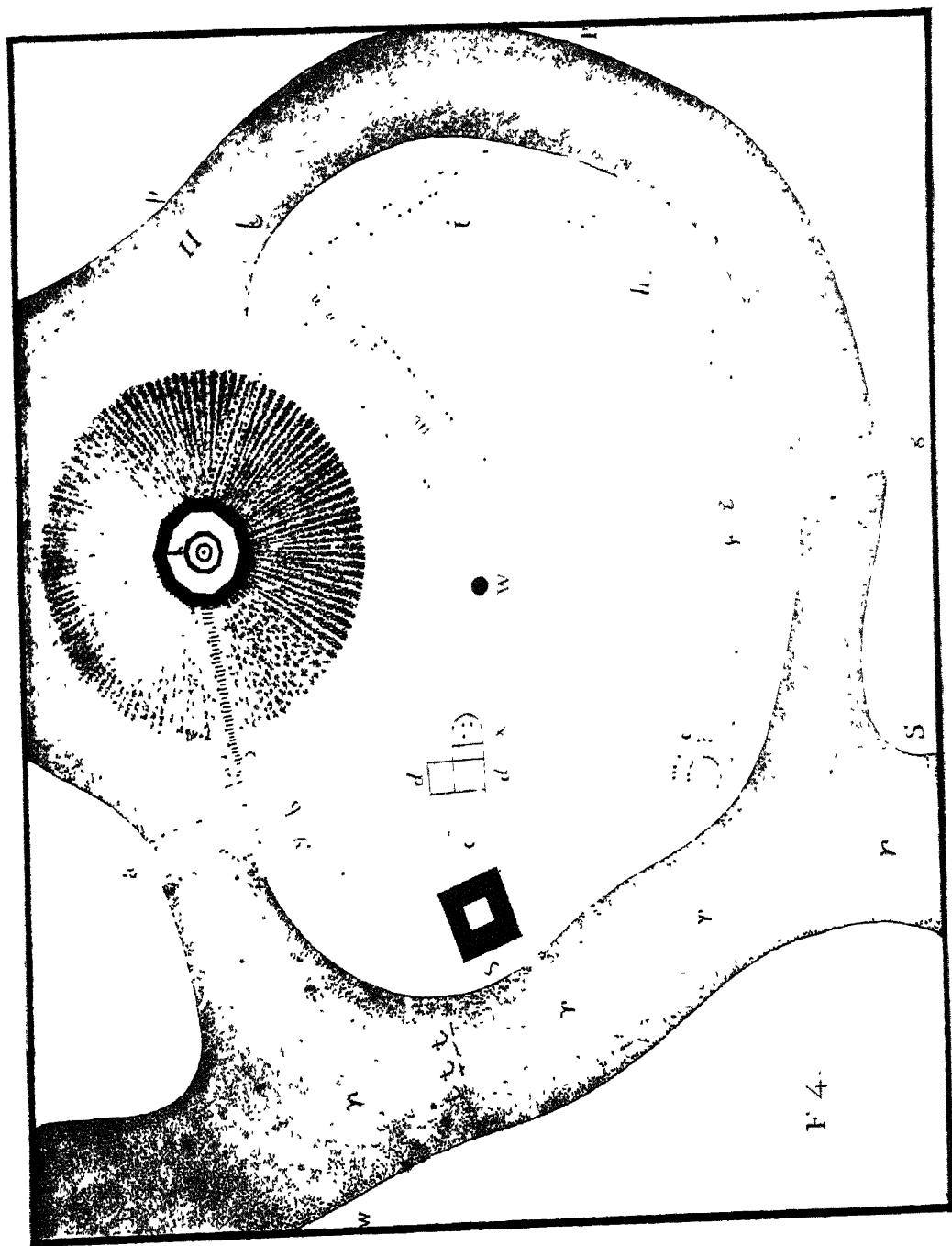


Plate XXVII—Conjectural plan of the Castle in Norman times.

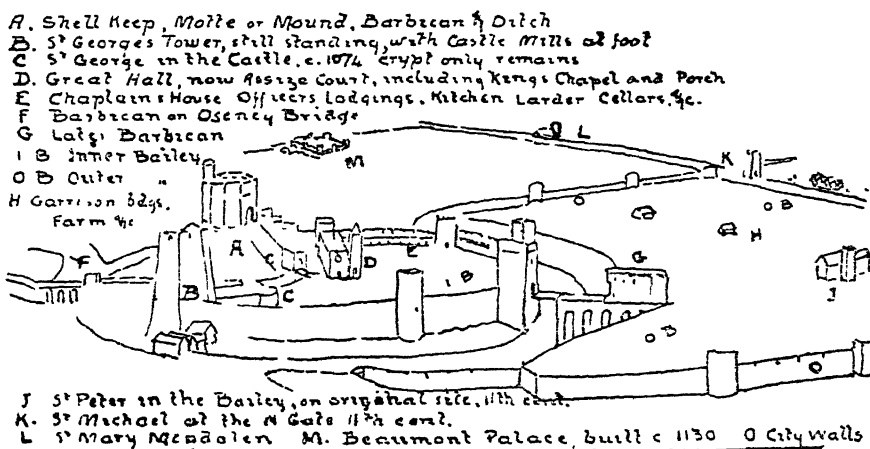


Plate XXVIII—Conjectural view of the Castle during the Norman period.

PLATE

XXVIII. From the original drawing made, c. 1910, by Charles H. Ashdown, F.R.G.S.,
St. Albans.

The following key to the buildings depicted is from a sketch by the same artist.



'In D'Oilly's time, and long after, there must have been a wooden hall for the garrison, kitchens, and the other usual buildings of a Norman castle, somewhere within the bailey. But these were all cleared away by the fourteenth century, chambers and offices being, no doubt, found in the various large towers of the rebuilt stone *enceinte*, and the splendid tower on the *motte* provided a residence for the governor. . . . It would seem probable, then, that Oxford had a "*motte* and bailey" castle only in the eleventh century, that the palisades of the bailey were replaced by stone outer walls somewhere in the early twelfth century: inserted in them was the tower of St. George's by way of a keep, while the very fine ornamental donjon on the mound and the five large mural towers in the *enceinte* were thirteenth-century constructions. This is hypothetical' (Sir Charles Oman, *M. P., Castles*).

PLATE

XXIX. *Detail of a plan drawn by Herbert Hurst, c. 1888, for Andrew Clark's edition of Wood's 'City of Oxford.' By permission of the Oxford Historical Society.*

The cartographer, beside giving details of the castle, has conjectured the sites of other important places adjoining, e.g. the West Gate, S. Budoc's Church, the city moat, Irishman Street, Plato's Well, Cornwall Close, S. Catharine's House, Maryon Hall, Jews' Mount, Pellam Mount, etc., none of which exist to-day. It also indicates by dotted lines a public thoroughfare from Castle Street through the castle grounds to Quaking Bridge which was still open until well on in the nineteenth century.

'On the north side of the castle was a little raised monument called Mount Pellam. It is supposed it was raised as a fortress against the castle when it was besieged by King Stephen. Upon the same mound was many people buried that died of the sickness here in the king's time in 1643-4. The same mound was taken away to fortifie the castle to make the mounds the higher a yeare or two before Worchester fight was, c. 1650' (Anthony Wood).

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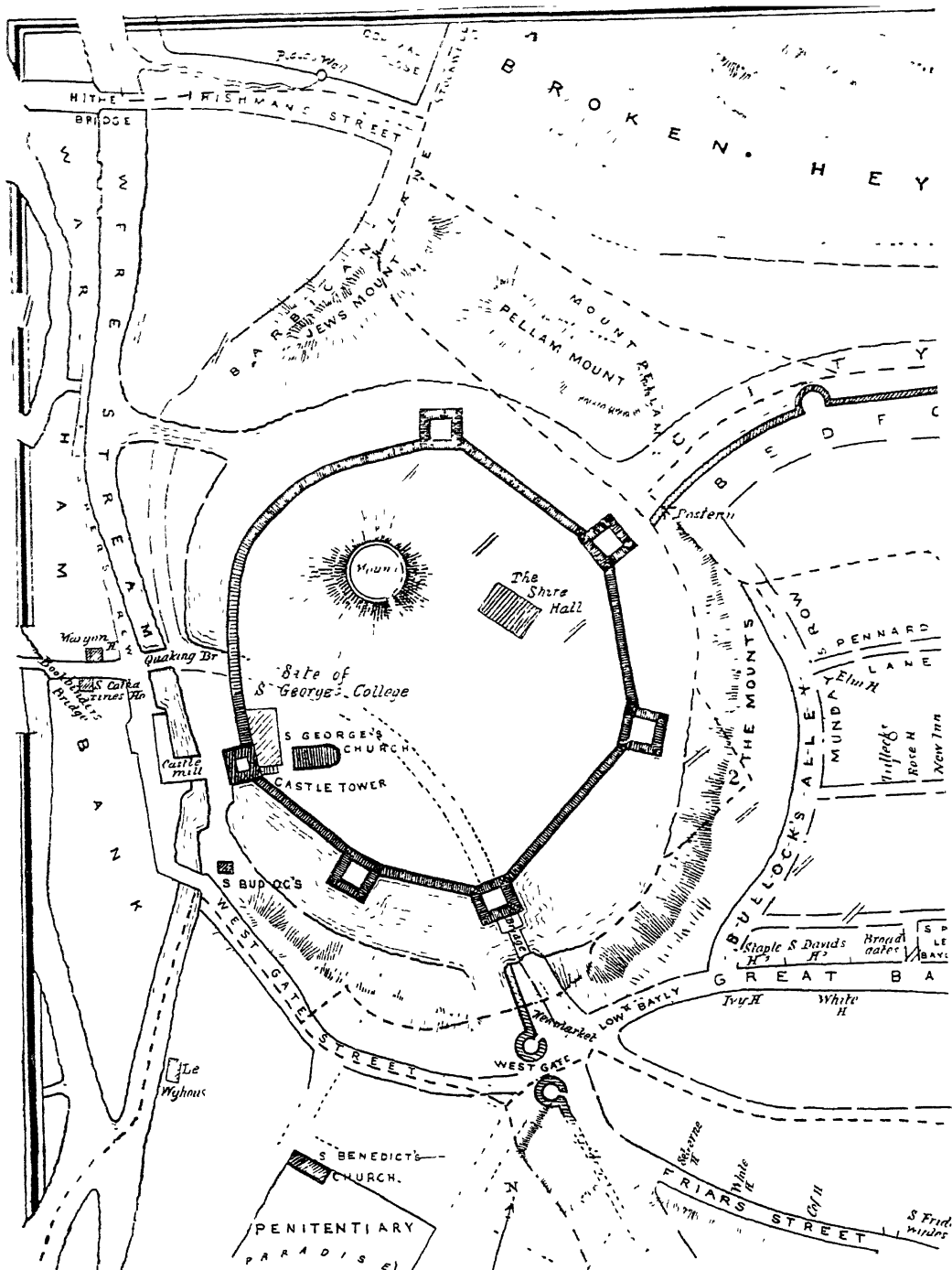


Plate XXIX.—The Castle and surrounding site (as conjectured) in mediaeval times.

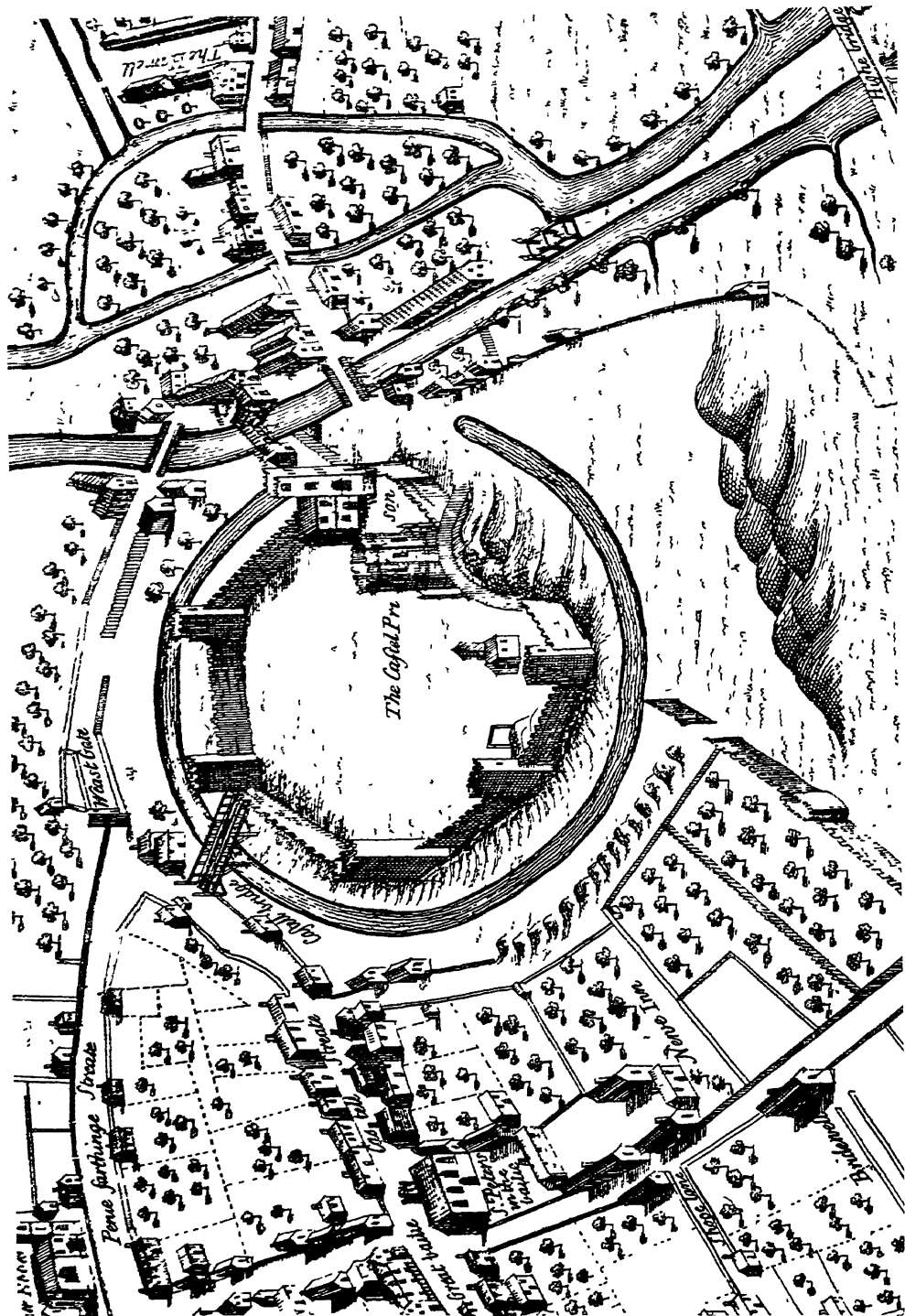


Plate XXX—The Castle and surrounding site, 1578.

PLATE

XXX. *Detail from map of Oxford by Ralph Agas, 1578.*

Agas' map is the earliest plan of the city as a whole. The only known existing copy is in the Bodleian Library. That only one of the three copies known to Hearne in the early part of the eighteenth century should be left is so very remarkable that it seems worth recording here.

'Thanks to Agas' map we can be certain what Oxford Castle looked like at the end of the Middle Ages. It was nearly circular, its strong point was the great tower on the mound which Agas calls "The Castell Prison." It is represented as a decagonal building with string courses, elaborate battlements, and rather large windows, which seem to demonstrate thirteenth-century date, and to point to Henry III as builder. The tower of S. George's at the end covered the weakest part of the front, and is shown with three stories. There were five smaller mural towers all residential, as the windows indicate. The main entrance was on the south-east side by a high, level wooden bridge crossing the ditch and ending in the south-east tower, which no doubt had a portcullis and drawbridge. This entry must have been at the end of the present Castle Street, as the name of that thoroughfare suggests. The existence of a small footbridge over the stream at the south-west side of the castle, not far from S. George's Tower, shows that there must have been a postern opening towards the river on the south-west side of the place. . . .

'The extent of the old limits of the castle has at various times been proved to be much about that which Agas gives. At the time of building the Salvation Army barracks in Castle Street, the old fosse could be traced by its black mud, still moist, full thirty feet wide, and almost twenty feet deep' (H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography*).

PLATE

XXXI. *Outline sketch of a coloured drawing at Christ Church. Printed in Skelton's 'Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata,' 1823.*

This represents a bird's-eye view of the castle and its surroundings taken from the south. Among its features will be noticed the large number of houses built alongside or near to the castle moat. Several of the dwellings on the west side are marked with the name of the occupier. Five sides of the great keep tower are shown, and marked : ' Upon ye round Hill ' ; the castle ditch is mapped out with clear detail ; S. George's Tower, the Round Tower, and further round another tower half ruined presumably, with the Sessions House and the indispensable gallows. The West Gate too, near a number of houses with gardens, which seem to have sprung up round the slope of the ditch, while to the north ' Hygh Bridge ' and Waram Bank lead up to ' Ruley.' The little bridge west of ' Hygh Bridge ' is endorsed ' Quackes Bridge.'

The date of the map is before 1605, as John Bagwell, keeper of the castle prison, whose name is attached to the house and garden adjoining S. George's Tower, was buried in S. Thomas' Church, July 13, 1605.

This map is very interesting and worth close study.

it had such a
Crack. if not
another on the
other side of &
Dore gate



~~The Gate~~ ops
this side faced this
South or S. and by E
I have forgot if it
had six sides or
eight as horse
but I believe
right . .

Plate XXXII—Keep Tower on the Mound, c. 1663

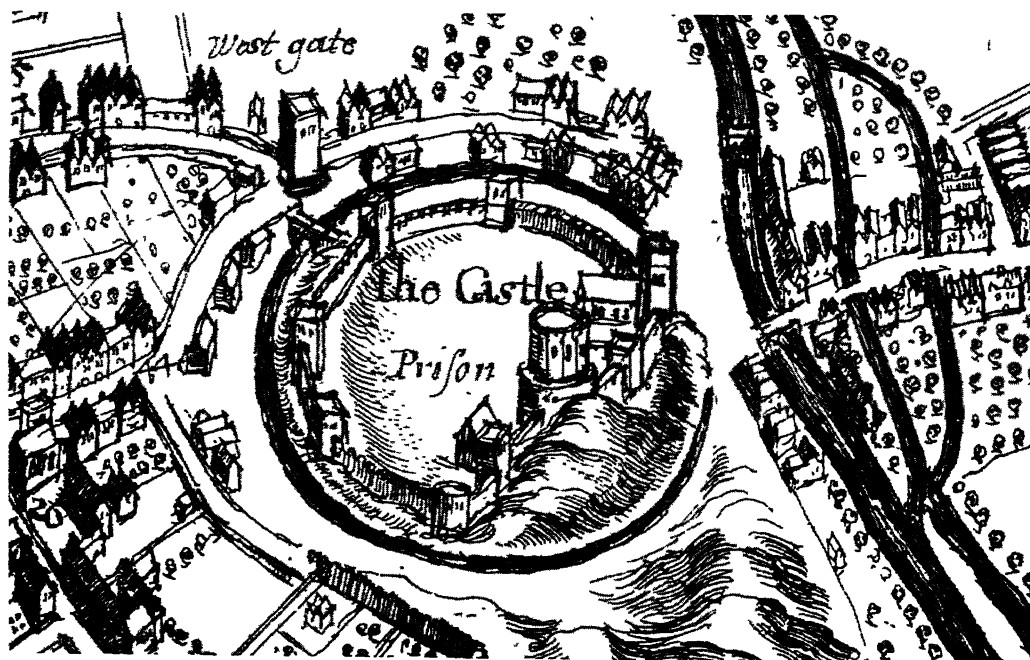


Plate XXXIII—The Castle and surrounding site, 1643

PLATE

XXXII. *From a sketch by John Aubrey, preserved in Wood's MS., f. 39, in the Bodleian Library.*

This sketch is worthy of notice, for, as Mr. H. Hurst said in 1899 : ' It had till lately become a fashion to deny that anything more than the ruined circular wall of stone ever existed on the mound ; but about a year ago Mr. Andrew Clark found among the Wood MSS. a letter from Aubrey, the antiquary (the same who preserved for us the representation of Oseney Abbey), in which he draws a ten-sided building not quite so high as Agas', and having windows higher up in the walls, round-headed, and more resembling such castles as that of Odiham ; . . . a huge crack threatens to let one-third of the structure slip away.'

XXXIII. *Detail of a map drawn by W. Hollar in 1643.*

In Hollar's map, it has been said, the walls and towers of the castle are represented—though no doubt fancifully—as perfect and entire. With the fuller notes given for both the Agas and Loggan maps there is hardly any need for further description here.

PLATE

XXXIV. *Detail of a map drawn by David Loggan in 1675.*

This view of the castle gives better than anything else what it was like after the Civil War. At the end of that strife Oxford Castle was 'sleighted,' and most effectually, as may be seen by comparing Loggan with Agas. Everything in stone was cast down, save S. George's Tower, S. George's Church, the mill, and the building—whatever it was—probably the old Sessions House, isolated in the middle of the bailey. The outline of the wall survives as a mere earthen bank above the ditch, and the great decagonal tower on the mound has been removed, leaving there only what appears to be a round wall. The castle mill is shown much the same as it appears to-day. A belt of willows line the castle ditch, and on the mounds thrown up by Stephen is the gallows.

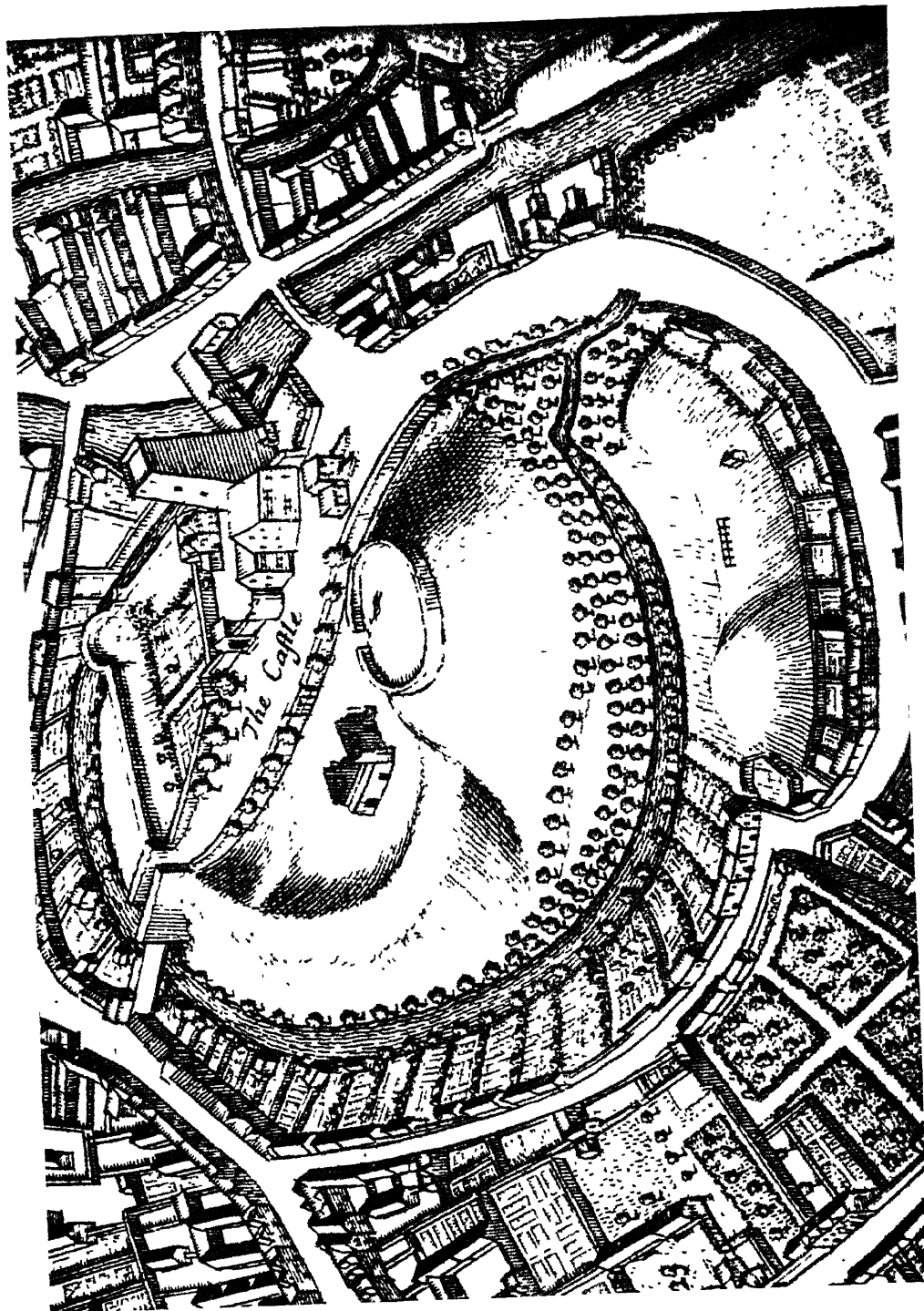


Plate XXXIV—The Castle and surrounding site, 1675



Plate XXXV—The Mound from New Road, 1910.

PLATE

XXXV. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

The mound, nowadays, has the appearance of a high, sloping bank of earth, with a very limited space at the top ; but the circumference of the base is much larger than the view from New Road implies, and the plateau at the summit, in the form of a smaller mound covered with green turf, is of considerable dimensions. It is about sixty-five feet above the lowest point of the existing ground. The base of the mound formerly extended out farther and much deeper, and so it now appears less lofty than it did when surrounded by the moat. In earlier days the moat, in some places at least, was thirty feet wide and sixteen to twenty feet deep.

There has been a great filling up of the land around the base of the mound, especially about 1770, when the New Road was made. The moat was then filled up, and shortly afterwards the Canal Company excavated the ground to the north of the castle, so that all traces of the moat disappeared. A reminder of the moat was seen in 1911, when the foundations of the new County Education Offices were being prepared. The whole site was evidently a part of the old moat, and the presence of water necessitated the driving in of a large number of substantial timber piles (such as are used for riverside work) as part of the foundation structure.

PLATE

XXXVI. *From a photograph by Gillman & Co.*

The large tower is sometimes called S. George's Tower as it once adjoined the church of S. George. It appears, however, to be an open question whether it was primarily a fortress or merely the church tower of S. George's. There can be no doubt about the tower forming the western end of the church, and that it has been called by old writers the campanile, or bell tower, yet there seems little evidence to favour this view, although a parallel of such a church tower may be seen in the contemporary building of S. Michael's-at-the-North Gate, Oxford.

The height of the tower is about 80 feet, the walls are about nine feet thick at the base, tapering to about four feet thick at the top. The tower has three stories and a basement. The entrance to the latter was by an archway in its eastern wall, but admittance to the first floor and all above it was gained through a door some twelve feet above the ground and opening off the castle ramparts. Each floor was one large room, and so carefully was the varying thickness of the walls manipulated that though the tower tapers as it rises all the chambers were the same size.

Above the level of the lead roof at the top are traces of six openings from which the 'hourdes,' or timber galleries, were thrown out in time of war. The front portions were pierced for bow and arrow shooting, while the bottom pieces had apertures for throwing of missiles, or pouring of boiling water, molten lead, or stones, on the besiegers. The masonry of the tower is of a very rude character, but well grouted together, the surface of mortar often showing an area double that of the stones embedded in it. The contour of the turret is curious, being neither round, square, oval, or oblong in section. The staircase is peculiar in construction; its treads are thin stone slabs resting on a grouted arch twined round a cylindrical newel of stone, while the wall enclosing it is most peculiar, in horizontal sections. There are six places in the stairs where the wall suddenly narrows.

The old tower has suffered much misrepresentation at the hands of the early artists, as any sort of sketch approximating to a tower seemed good enough, as the examples in Plates xxx, xxxiii, and xxxiv show.

The Plate opposite represents a view from inside the prison grounds. The surrounding buildings on either side are all modern.

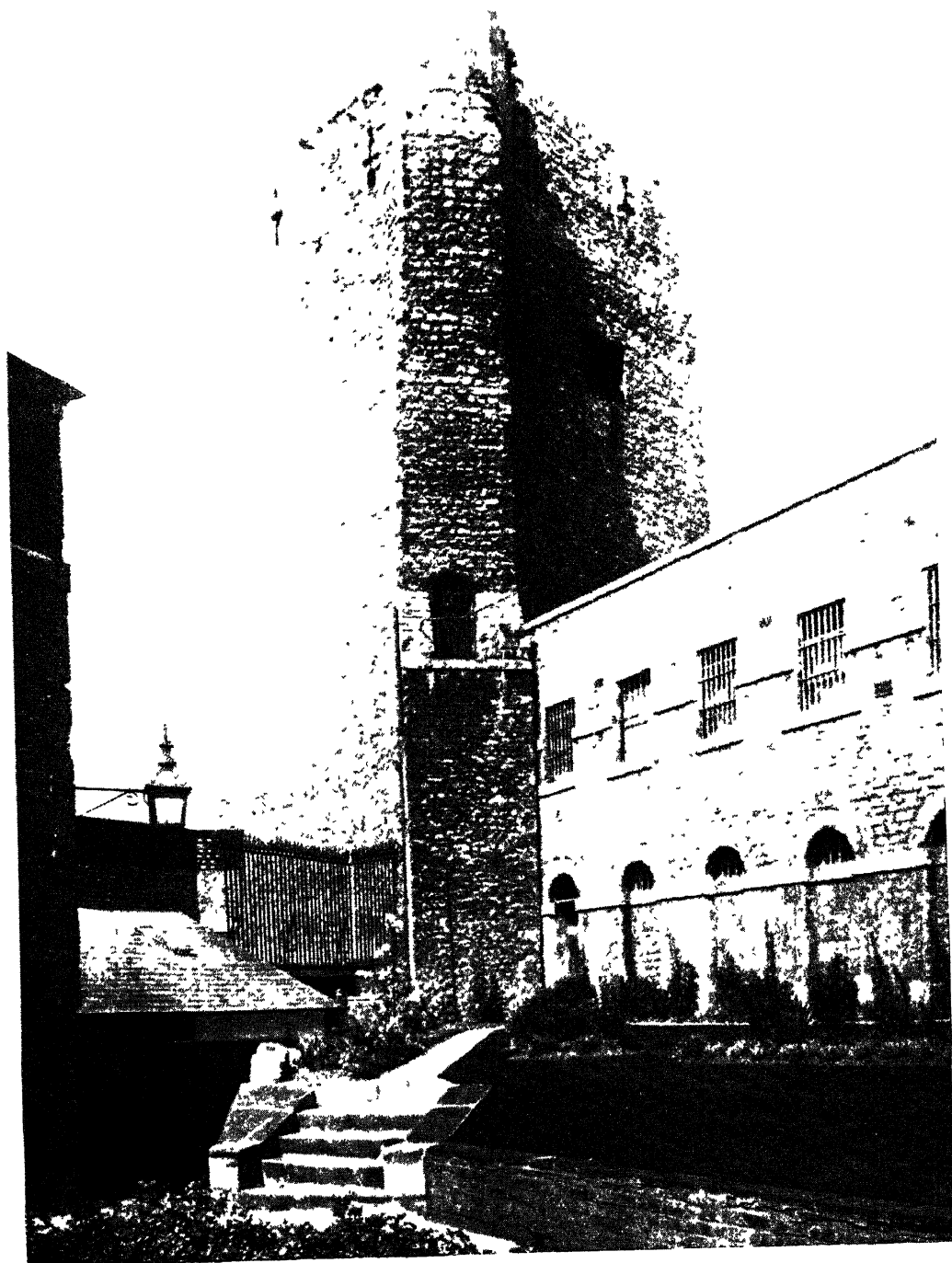


Plate XXXVI—The Castle Tower from the north-east, 1920.

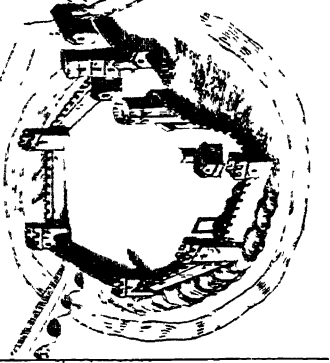
CONSPECTUS QUADRUPLIX CASTRI SIVE ARCIS OXONIENSIS.

Conspectus recens Castri a ponte australi per quem intramus
ubi muri videntur admodum crassi



Pons
australis

Conspectus antiquus castri tabula
Radulphi Regis A.D. 1578 edita



Conspectus antiquus castri tabula
Henrici King bello nigro civitate
occupante delineata



Conspectus recens Castri a ripa quadam juxta pontem australem qui ad Ergastulum ducit.

(a) Terris quaedam integra & antiqua, quae unica nunc manet, (reliquis numerum dirutis)
& in Comitatus ergastulum convertitur. Prope hanc turrim ut opinor. Matildis virgo illa Anglica. Henrico
II^{do} mariti albis vestibus induta. ut specie nivali coloris hostes falleret. nocturno silentio crepida est oppido
Oxonienſi a Stephano rege occisissime obſeſſo. & scapha per Thameſim vecta ad arcem. Wallingfordienſem
pervenit atque ibi a suis in arcem accepta est.

(b) Collis quidam editior, quem
vulgo vocant the Kepe of
the Castle



(c) Reliqua domus in qua Astor
olim tenebantur, donec ob possessionem
substantiam ac fatalem ad astrum
civitas locum regnante Eli-
zabetha transferre placuit.

PLATE

XXXVII. *Four details from a drawing by M. Burghers, 1719. Printed in Hearne's 'Textus Roffensis.'*

Translation of the Latin printed in the drawing. Title : a fourfold view of the castle at Oxford. On the pictures : (1) a new view of the castle from the south bridge by which we enter, where the walls are seen to be very thick ; (2) an old view of the castle from the picture produced by Ralph Agas, A.D. 1578 ; (3) an old view of the castle from Daniel King's picture sketched while the late Civil War was raging ; (4) a new view of the castle from the bank of the river near the south bridge which leads to the prison. (a) A complete ancient tower, the only one which now remains (as the others without doubt have been destroyed), and is converted into the county prison. Near this tower, as I think, that English virago Matilda, the mother of Henry II, clothed in white, so as to deceive her enemies by a resemblance to the colour of snow, passed out of the town of Oxford which was most straitly besieged by King Stephen, and by means of a boat on the Thames reached Wallingford Castle, and was then taken into it by her own friends. (b) A higher hill which is commonly called 'the kepe of the castle.' (c) The remains of a house in which the assizes were formerly held, till it was resolved to move them to another part of the city owing to a sudden fatal pestilence in the reign of Elizabeth.

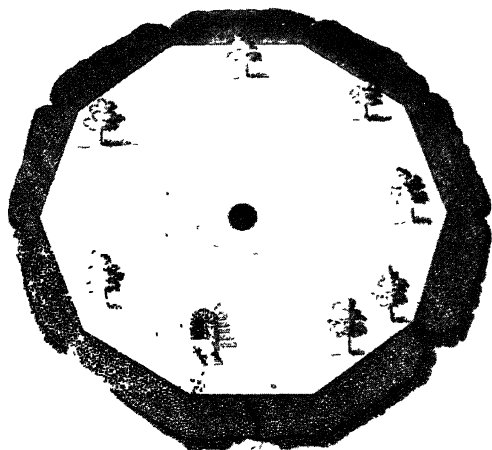
PLATE

XXXVIII. Printed in E. King's *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*, 1796.

This represents the result of a search in 1794 for the walls of the keep tower on the mound. (*a a a*) fragments of walls, forming a decagon, about 58 feet in diameter, each side being about 18 feet long and 5 to 6 feet thick. (*d*) passage for a drain. (*c c*) walls of the well room. (*B*) (*e*) entrance to well room. The dotted lines (in Fig. 2) nearest to the centre indicate the position of the walls of the well chamber, and the dotted lines farthest from the centre indicate the position of remains found and conjectured to form another decagonal tower.

'Agas and the Christ Church drawing both represent the keep as having ten sides, presenting in each case four sides to the spectator; an etching by Daniel King, whose other work is far from exact (see Plate xxxvii), alone makes it octagonal. King's excavations almost definitely decide that it was decagonal.'

F 2



F. J

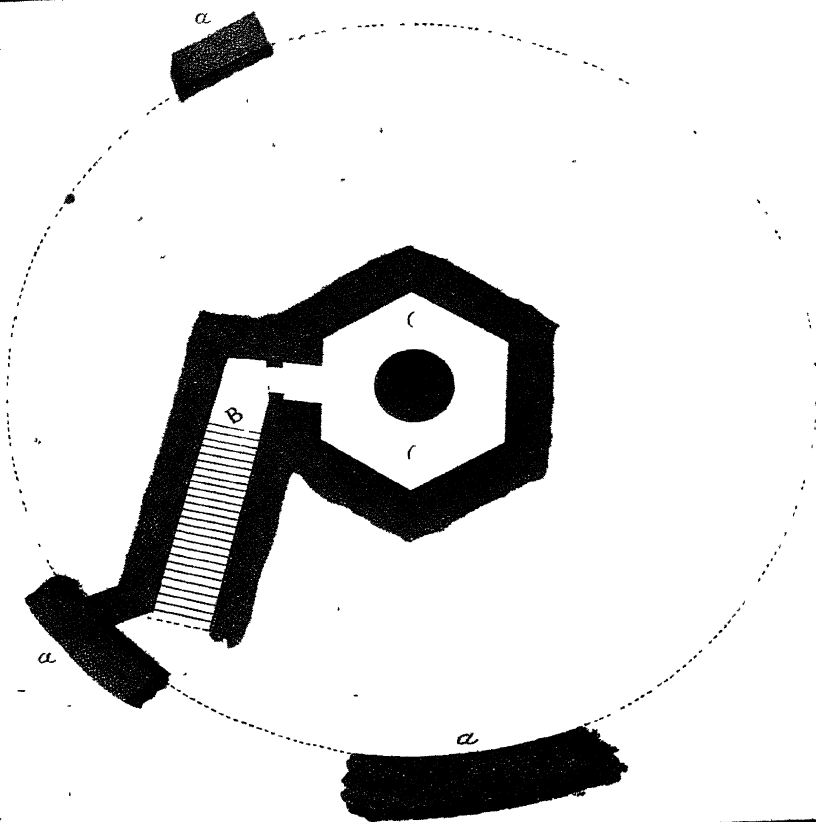


Plate XXXVIII—Plans of Keep Tower on the Mound, drawn c. 1796.



Plate XXXIX—View from the top of the Mound, 1839.

PLATE

XXXIX. *From a drawing by P. Dewint. Engraved by Henry Le Keux for the 'Oxford Almanack,' 1839.*

In the near foreground on the right is seen the old church of S. Peter-le-Bailey, which stood at the extreme east end of the modern New Road. The opening with a stone wall on the left, in the immediate foreground, is the way leading into the well chamber. In the background may be seen the Radcliffe Camera, S. Mary's spire, All Saints' spire, New College tower, Magdalen tower, S. Aldate's tower and spire, and Tom tower.

PLATE

XL. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt, of an engraving by Eastgate.*

This view is very similar to that printed in F. Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, 1772-76, vol. iii. It differs in the foreground only, but the original source of the picture has not been located.

XLI. *From a drawing (probably) by a pupil of J. B. Malchair, c. 1770.*

It is said to be taken from Bulwark's Lane, but it should be remembered that in those days Bulwark's Lane extended much farther southwards, right across what is now New Road into Castle Street. Bath Court was then part of Bulwark's Lane.

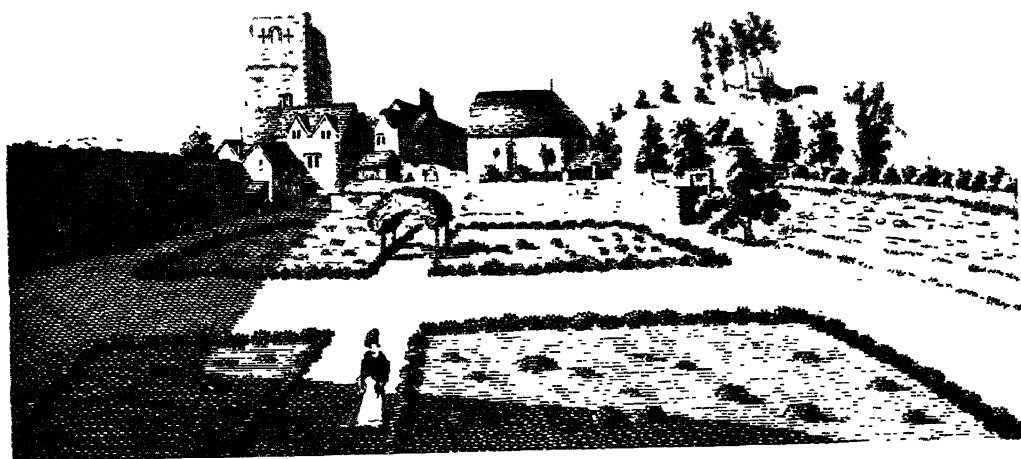


Plate XL—The Tower, with remains of S. George's Church, and the Mound, c 1751.



Plate XLI—The Castle, S. George's Church, and the Mound, 1770.



Pl. XLII—The Castle and remains of S. George's Church, c. 1772



Plate XLIII—The Tower and S. George's Church, 1780.

PLATE

XLII. *From a drawing by H. Hurst, after the original by J. B. Malchair, 1772.*

‘ In the illustration is seen the tower of S. George’s Church, and near it the apsidal end of the church itself. On the left is a gabled house, near which is a wooden bridge that spanned the moat and provided access to the castle *enceinte*. On the extreme left are seen the ruins of the ancient Shire Hall, in which the “ Black Assize ” was held in 1577. This was situated on or near the site of an earlier building of a similar character, in which probably the “ Provisions of Oxford ” were formulated in July, 1258 ’ (H. Paintin).

The drawing is endorsed ‘ from Bullock’s Lane,’ ‘ soe called from one Bullock a scavenger who brought the dung and filth of the city hither and by the town’s permission built him a house there which was the first house in that lane.’

XLIII. *From a drawing formerly in the possession of Mrs. F. P. Morrell. From a photograph by courtesy of Mr. H. Minn.*

This view is taken from the south-east.

PLATE

XLIV. Printed in E. King's '*Vestiges of Oxford Castle*,' 1796.

The view-point is as seen from what was described as the inner court of the castle, about 1795. The roof marks on the tower are those of S. George's Church. There are remains of two flanking walls built into the tower; the northern with a doorway, while on the southern side the wall is associated with the steps leading up to the doorway in the turret and the upper apartments. At the bottom of the tower is shown the old doorway giving entrance to the ground floor

XLV. Printed in E. King's '*Vestiges of Oxford Castle*,' 1796.

From the description given by the author the following is culled: (a) Represents the lower floor of the existing tower where the walls are about nine feet thick, while the apartment within measures only about nineteen feet by sixteen. This apartment had a Saxon doorway at (b), but had no sort of communication with the rooms above. To them the only entrance was by a flight of steps that ascended from a covered way or walk on the top of the walls (c c). This wall extended to the round tower said to have been built in the reign of Henry III. At (f) was S. George's Church; here were found numbers of human skeletons, laying due east and west, and many fragments of pavement and tiles with armorial bearings. That it was subsequent in its date to the tower appears from its being placed so much aslant from that building. The remaining walls have an old doorway with arch at (d) facing very nearly toward the site of the Oseney Gate. (g) and (h) represent apartments which seem to have been lodgings for the poor Oseney scholars who were to be maintained within the castle. At (x) was the entrance to the old crypt, not agreeing in dimensions with the modern chapel above (y y y y)

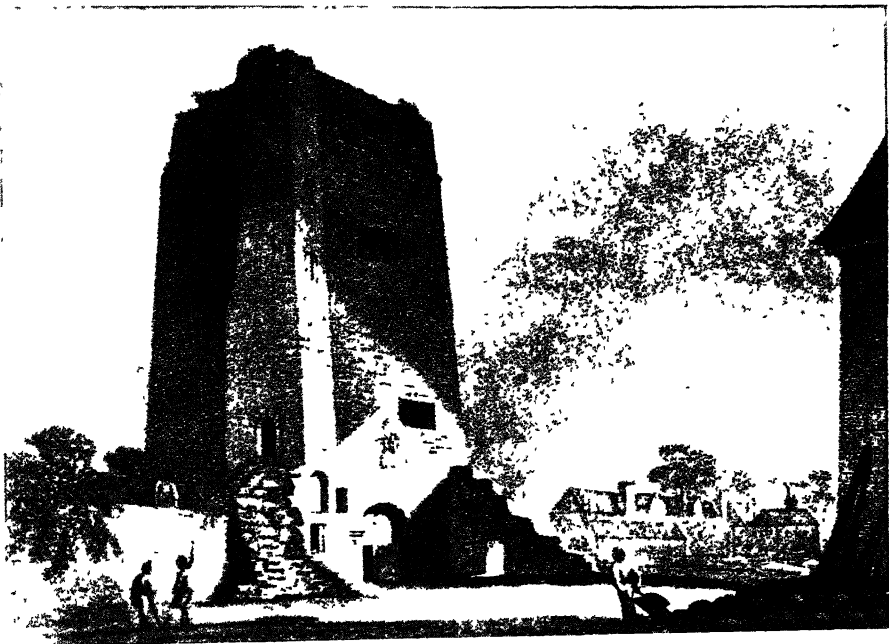


Plate XLIV—The Tower and remains of S. George's Church, 1795.

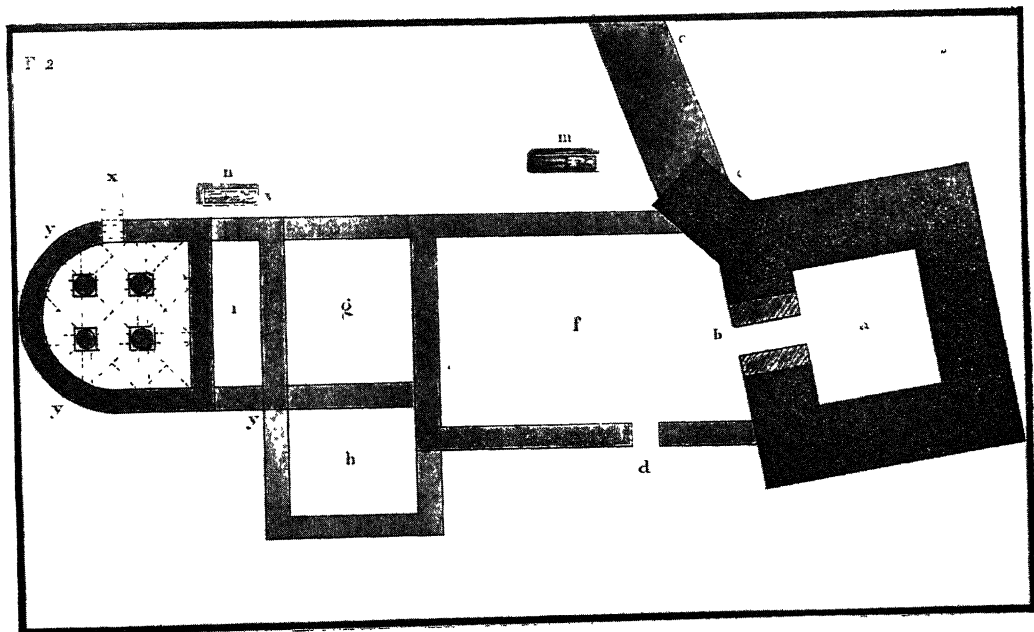


Plate XLV—Plan of the Tower and S. George's Church, as conjectured in 1796.

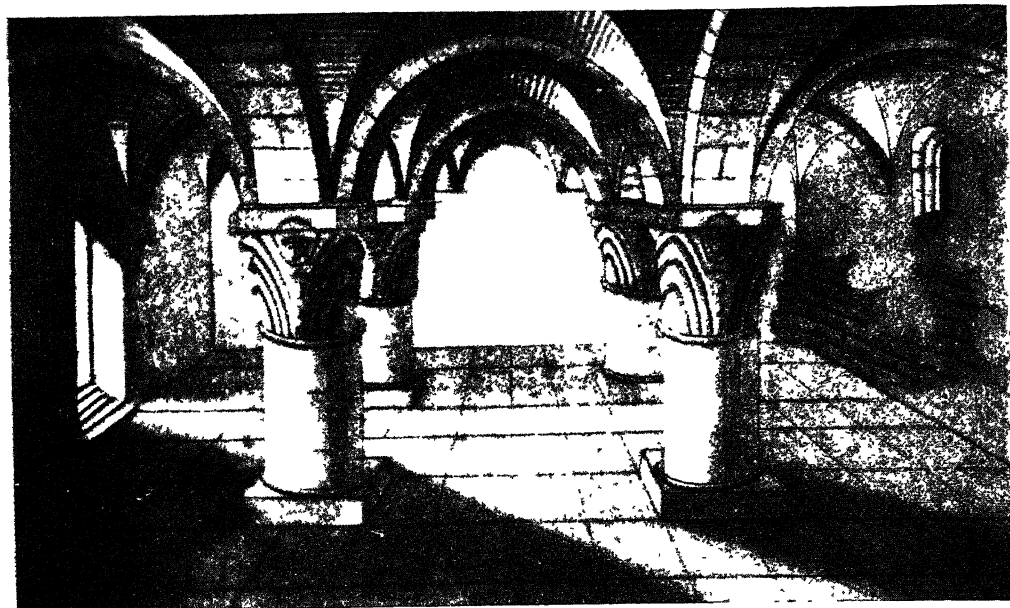


Plate XLVI—Portion of the Crypt existing in 1796



Plate XLVII—Portion of the Crypt, 1920

PLATE

XLVI. *From an illustration printed in E. King's 'Vestiges of Oxford Castle,' 1796.*

This represents a crypt discovered and described by Edward King in 1796, but which does not exist to-day. The following description is taken from the book mentioned above :

'The Saxon crypt is represented from an exact drawing made by Mr. Harris. The diameter of the shaft of each column is 1 foot 11 inches, whilst the height is only 2 feet 7 inches, but the height of each capital is 1 foot 3 inches, and the space between each pillar each way is 5 feet. The whole height from the ground to springing of the arch is about 5 feet ; and the arch itself rises 2 feet 6 inches, and the rib 6 inches more ; so that the exact height from the floor to the underside of the rough arch of the stone vaulting was exactly 8 feet. The rough groins were turned with a mixture of rough stone, and very hard-burnt bricks, or rather tiles, 9 inches square, and 2 inches thick, which manifestly show a Saxon construction. And there were many such odd bricks in the walls, and others of still more strange and different dimensions, just as in other most ancient Saxon buildings. This very precise account I have here the rather given, because in order to carry on the foundations of the great new buildings of Oxford Gaol, Mr. Harris was unavoidably obliged to disturb the whole. He has, however, replaced the pillars in a modern cellar, as near the spot as possible, and, as far as might be, in the same relative situation. Each pillar stands about one foot and a half removed from its pristine situation.'

XLVII. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

Sometimes there has been confusion in identifying the crypt as described and pictured by E. King in 1796 as being the same as exists to-day. A careful reading of the descriptions and comparison of Plates xlv and xlvii will reveal many important differences. The following description of the existing crypt is taken from an article in the *Archaeological Journal* for Sept., 1911, by Mr. C. A. Lynam : 'The span of the vault is divided into three. . . . The arch stones are of well-constructed ashlar, set with joints neither wide nor close. The capitals to the piers have a square abacus 7 inches in depth with the edges slightly taken off. . . . The reduction from the square of the abacus to the circular shaft is very charmingly done. The broad faces of the abacus are in some cases relieved in a simple and effective way by a small carved patera in relief. The shafts are 2 feet 4 inches in diameter and 2 feet 8 inches in height, and some of them have very delicate carvings on their surface. There is a curious irregularity in the setting out of the plan. The central alley from centre to centre of the pillars measures 8 feet 4 inches in width ; the north alley 9 feet from the centre of pier to the side wall ; and the south alley 8 feet 4 inches. The opening of the arches, at the springing, measure in width, of the central alley 5 feet 1 inch, of the south alley 6 feet 6 inches, and of the north alley 6 feet 4 inches. The total height from the floor to the underside of the arches of the central alley is 7 feet 4 inches, of the south alley 7 feet 11 inches, and of the north 7 feet 2 inches. The total height of the piers from the base to the top of the abacus is 4 feet 5 inches.

'In work of the eleventh century irregularities in setting out do occur, but they are only detected by the tape or measuring rod. In the early twelfth century exactness of

Plate XLVII continued.

dimension is prevalent as a rule. The present paving of the floor is of rough, hard stone laid on edge, reminding one somewhat of a Roman roadway.

'The general architectural character of this crypt, though alike in style with S. Peter's, differs from it in its more massive proportions of solids, and in its more archaic ornamentation, due of course to its precedence in date. Its effect is really charming, owing to its grandeur of proportion, its beautiful early carvings, and its simple vaulting.'

PLATE

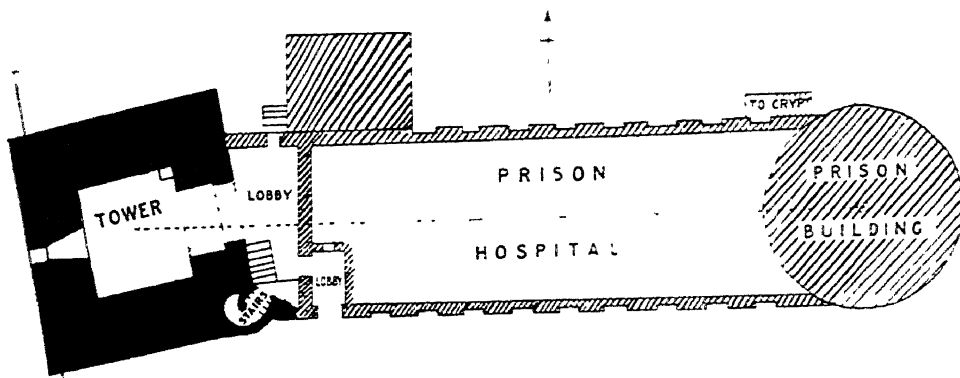
XLVIII. *From a plan printed in the 'Archaeological Journal,' September, 1911. By permission of the Archaeological Society.*

This plan is the result of a long and careful study by Mr. C. A. Lynam of the problems involved, as an endeavour to clear up the identification and ground position of the two crypts. It would seem that the crypt shown in King's book (as represented in Plate xlvii) 'fell a sacrifice to the [new] prison plans of 1795, and that it was in fact the eastern portion of the present crypt, standing beneath the east end of the chancel of the church.

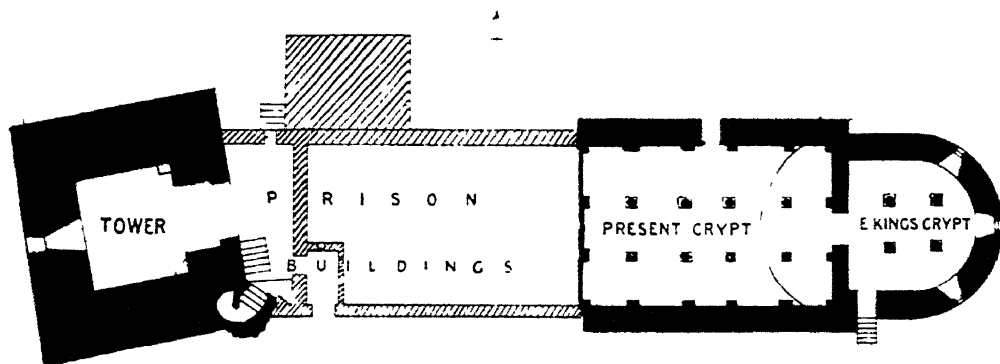
'The question of how this obliterated portion is to be linked on to the existing crypt involves a broad, general view of the special locality. First of all we have the great early tower to the west, from which runs eastward a building 86 feet in length and 20 feet 6 inches in external width, abutting at the east end upon a big circular building some 30 feet in diameter, the whole forming a three-storied building 118 feet in length. . . .

'Setting out the plan of the existing crypt from present measurements, it is of the same internal width as the prison building, its flank walls form the foundation of the prison range, and, including its four remaining bays, it measures 40 feet in length. If we add King's crypt to the east of this original crypt of 40 feet in length we have the crypt of S. George's Church as it was at the end of the eighteenth century. These conclusions are not inconsistent with King's relating of what took place in 1795.

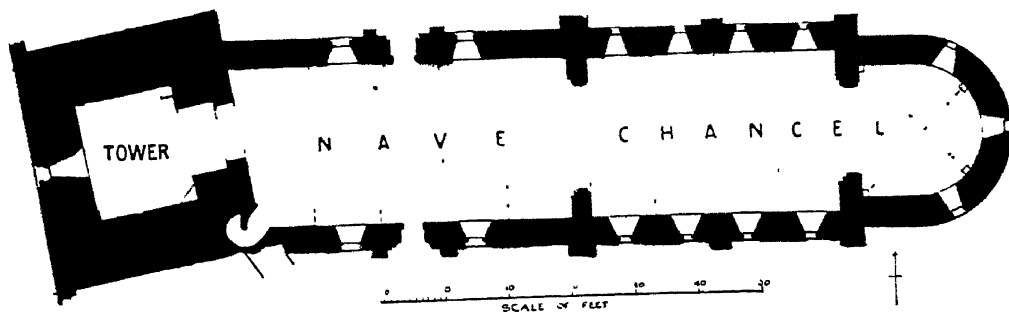
'It now remains to set out the actual plan of S. George's Church, which as a matter of fact would seem almost to find itself. We have its western end against the great tower, its eastern part over the apsidal crypt, and its middle part over the present crypt. Hereby the total length and the widths of a typical eleventh-century church are brought out with an apsidal termination attached to a western tower, which may or may not have been built first, but it was dragged into line with the fortress wall' (C. A. Lynam, *Archaeological Journal*).



PLAN OF THE PRESENT BUILDINGS



PLAN OF THE CRYPT OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH AS IT WAS AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, DEDUCED FROM KING'S PLAN AND THE EXISTING REMAINS.



PLAN OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH, DEDUCED FROM EXISTING REMAINS, AND EARLY ILLUSTRATIONS

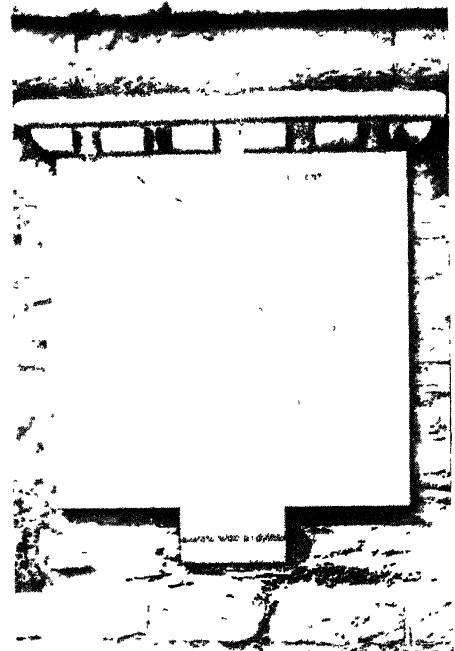


PLATE XLIX—The Staircase in the Tower Tower.

Plate L—The 'Black Assize' Memorial Tablet.

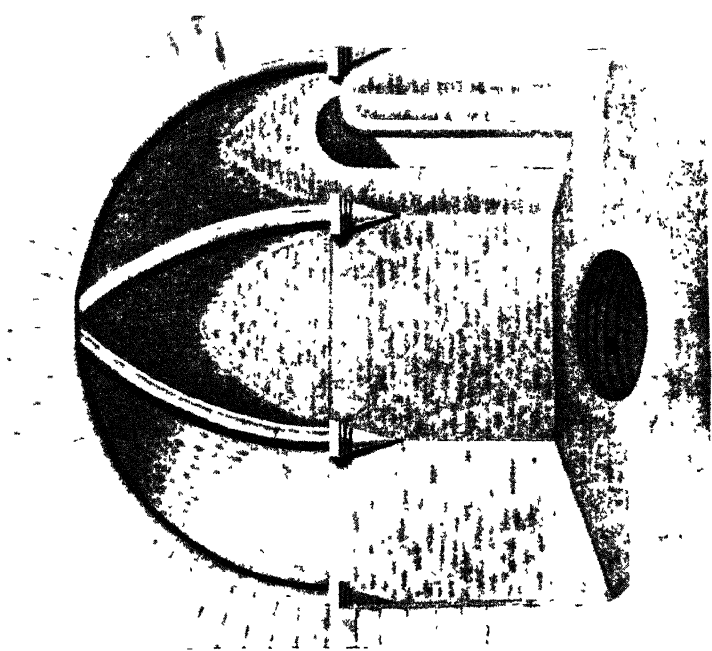


Plate LI—The Well Chamber, 1795

PLATE

XLIX. *From a drawing by an unknown artist.*

This represents the stairway in the turret of the great tower. For further details see notes on Plate xxxvi. For the story of the Empress Maud's escape, with which the tower and staircase are traditionally associated, see p. 58.

L. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

The tablet was erected by the late Mr. John M. Davenport, Clerk of the Peace for the County of Oxon. For an account of the 'Black Assize,' see p. 60.

LI. *Printed in E. King's 'Vestiges of Oxford Castle,' 1796.*

The well chamber is constructed about 20 feet down from the summit of the mound. The Pipe Rolls of 1172 show that £66 was expended for erecting a house and the well on the mound. The well would probably be the last detail to be completed; and in 1173 another entry records that £19 was spent in finishing the well, which is 54 feet deep from the floor of the room. It was probably used to supply the garrison with water when besieged. Strange to say, the existence of the chamber for a time remained unknown, but it was rediscovered in the eighteenth century. It was then found to be filled up with debris, which being cleared out, there came to light many bones of horses and dogs, and an interesting collection of Danish and Saxon horseshoes (now in the Ashmolean Museum). About twenty feet further down several human skeletons were unearthed. Still lower several stone balls, twelve to thirty-six pounds each in weight, were discovered, such as might have been used by soldiers of the twelfth century with the *catapulta*. The plain character of the vaulting ribs and the fine contour of the roof indicate an early date of construction.

PLATE

LII. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

These Assize Courts were built in 1841.

Sir Charles Oman, M.P., in his book on *Castles* expresses the following criticism :
 'The terrible thing about the fate of Oxford Castle is not its almost complete destruction by the Long Parliament, but the insult that has been inflicted on its remains by the imposition on them of quite the most abominable pseudo-Gothic assize-court in all England, a compound of mock-Norman arches, pepper-box turrets, meaningless machicolation, arrow-slits in inaccessible places, and large round-topped windows. This triumph of early Victorian architecture must be seen to be believed.'

LIII. *From an illustration in Ingram's 'Memorials of Oxford,' vol. iii.*

This represents the New Road before the building of the Assize Courts in 1841.

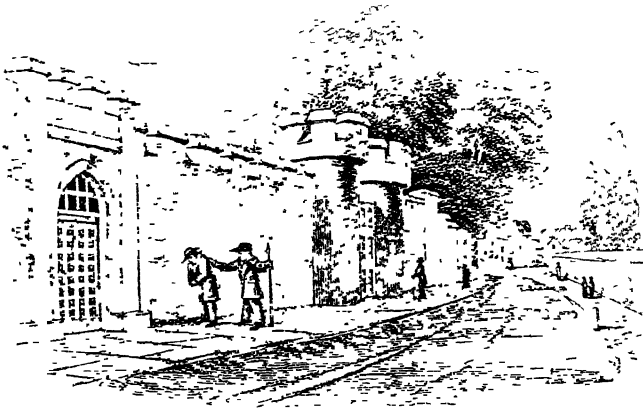
LIV. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

'We cannot dismiss the subject,' says Dr. Ingram in his account of the castle written in 1837, 'without mentioning the taste and skill displayed in the construction and arrangement of the new buildings of the castle, as well as the commendable zeal and care bestowed in preserving as much of the old fortress as was consistent with modern accommodation. The towers exhibit an appropriate air of castellated security ; an appearance of strength pervades the whole ; and the interior is subdivided into distinct cells and compartments, where health, light, and cleanliness have not been forgotten among other essential objects of the architect.'

It was on the lower tower in centre that public executions were carried out ; for the last of these proceedings, see p. 62.



Plate LII—County Hall and Assize Courts. Built 1841.



*Plate LIII
The Old Prison
Gateway,
1836.*

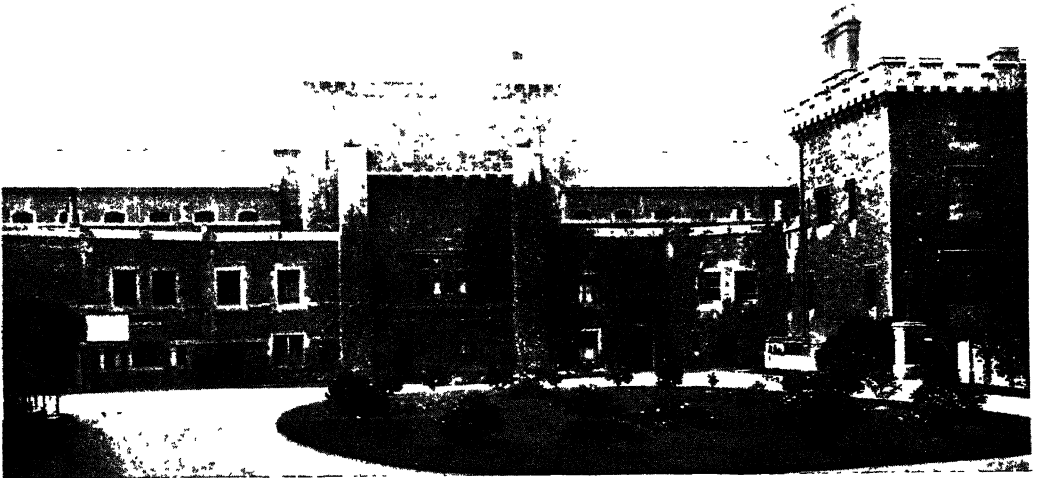


Plate LIV—Castle grounds and Prison front from the north. Built c. 1800.

III. THE AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY OF OSENEY

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLIEST YEARS

THE founding of Oseney is associated with a traditional story which, briefly told, says that Editha, the wife of Robert D'Oyley the second, of Oxford Castle, when walking in Oseney meadows repeatedly observed a group of magpies most persistent with their chatter, and being of a superstitious nature she imagined it to be in some way ominous to herself. Sending for her chaplain, a canon of S. Frideswide's,¹ she desired of him an interpretation of the omen ; but the canon, unable then to explain it, proposed that he should accompany the lady and her attendants in their next visit to Oseney, so that he might hear and see for himself. Very soon together they went to Oseney, and sure enough the magpies were markedly vociferous. The canon, it is said, then told the lady Editha that the birds in some mystical way represented souls in purgatory crying out for prayers of the faithful, and knowing the lady Editha's charitable disposition, they sought that she would do something special to help them. The canon suggested the possibility of building and endowing either a church or a monastery at the place where they stood, whereupon the lady forthwith resolved that, with God's help, she would do her best to accede to the wishes of those poor souls. Upon her return to Oxford Castle she related the whole story to her husband, and by her frequent pleadings induced him, in 1129, to found the Priory of Oseney for the Augustinian Canons.²

The priory was dedicated 'to the honour and praise of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Saint Mary of Oseney,' and Radulphus, chaplain to the lady Editha, was appointed first prior. Robert D'Oyley, by the foundation charter

¹ S. Frideswide's was a monastery, for canons of the Augustinian Order, on the site of the present Christ Church, Oxford.

² The Augustinian Canons (or Black Canons as they were called, from the colour of their habit) were quite a distinctive group in the old Religious Orders. The clergy of every large church were formerly called Canons, and when living together under a Rule were designated Canons Regular. Although the members of this Order were professed to an individual House, and not to the Order generally, their Rule was practically the same as that of any other monastery. The Austin Canons were very popular in England, most of their houses being established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although a few were much earlier ; e.g. Oseney and S. Botolph's, Colchester, the latter being the first, and built soon after 1100. Other houses of the Order in this district were Dorchester Abbey, S. Frideswide's Priory, and S. Mary's College, Oxford.

of 1129, assigned to Oseney Priory all the land he possessed in Oseney Island, the tithes of the castle mills, the houses alongside the Warham stream,¹ beside six churches and their endowments. About 1140 the founder renounced his manorial rights over the priory and its tenants, transferring them to Oseney itself, to whom also he granted rights of pasturage, taking of wood, and of fishing over all his estates. Pope Eugenius III, about 1146, when confirming the foundation charter, added thereto the valued privileges of holding services within the monastery during times of interdict,² and of a private cemetery for the monks, their guests and servants.

By this time Oseney possessed about twenty houses in Oxford, and in 1149 a more valuable gift was made by the founder's son, Henry D'Oyley, and Roger D'Ivri in the transfer to Oseney of the collegiate church of S. George-in-the Castle,³ with all its revenues, which included the endowments of seven churches, and two-thirds of the tithes of lands in some ninety manors. Other bequests followed in such quick succession that soon the monastery had property in more than one hundred and twenty places, scattered over sixteen counties.

Oseney, as already stated, was originally designated a priory, but in 1154 Prior Wigod, after ruling for nearly sixteen years, assumed the title of abbot. This was possibly a consequence of his visit to the Pope, at Rome, in 1151, concerning a dispute between Oseney and the Prior of S. Frideswide's with the Archdeacon of Oxford, over S. George's Church: a contention decided in favour of Oseney. It is thought that this first Abbot of Oseney was a member of the family of Wigod of Wallingford, whose daughter was married to the first Robert D'Oyley.⁴

The founder and great benefactor to Oseney, Robert D'Oyley the second, died in 1142, and was buried at Eynsham Abbey according to the will he had made before the founding of Oseney; but his widow, the lady Editha, who died in 1152, was buried in Oseney Church near the high altar. Upon the wall near to her tomb was a fresco representing her coming to Oseney with her chaplain, listening to the magpies.

Oseney continued to prosper, and soon acquired a high reputation, for in 1177, when Waltham Abbey was founded, Oseney provided six out of the sixteen new canons, and in 1184 another Oseney canon was elected Abbot of Waltham. In 1213 other Oseney canons were elected to be Priors respectively of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, S. George's, Canterbury, and S. Mary Overy, Southwark. In 1214 another canon was made Prior of Kenilworth. Others were elected heads respectively of Newnham Priory in 1225, Chacombe Priory in 1230, Dorchester Abbey in 1236, and Ivychurch Priory in 1247.

In 1193 there was a dispute between Oseney and Godstow relative to the

¹ Now called the Fisher Row.

² The effect of an interdict was a very serious matter, for it meant a total suspension of clerical duties. Churches were closed, children were not baptized, marriages could not be solemnized, the sick were not visited, nor the dead buried with Church rites.

³ See p. 63.

⁴ See chapter on Oxford Castle, p. 55.

tithe of Walton Manor. The Abbess of Godstow claimed them as belonging to S. Giles' Parish, and the Abbot of Oseney contended the tithes belonged to S. George's Parish. The matter was decided in favour of Godstow, though the abbess was desired to give a portion of the income yearly to Oseney.

Among the special benefactions of this period is one that bears upon the abbey's proverbial hospitality, viz. that of Roger de St. John, who, about 1216, gave the Rectory of Steeple-Barton to help Oseney in the 'susteyning of poure men and pilgrimys.'

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In the thirteenth century the development and reputation of Oxford as a University was not without its influence on the monastery, for the abbey, with its extensive buildings close to Oxford, provided a convenient place for important councils and other matters. At Oseney Abbey, in 1215, Benedict de Sansetun, Chantor of S. Paul's, London, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In June, 1222, under the same archbishop—Stephen Langton—a Provincial Synod was held at Oseney, when the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1215 were promulgated. One of these decrees provided that all Jews should wear a distinctive badge. The synod was also marked by the trial and condemnation of a deacon, an apostate to Judaism, for a crime, resulting in his being handed over to the secular arm for execution. It was probably at this synod that S. George's Day was first ordered to be observed as the festival of England's patron saint.

In 1225 Oseney invited S. Frideswide's Priory to renounce 'its instruments of perjury,' a reference apparently to some deed forged to support a traditional claim. It is only fair to add that it is said Oseney itself was not altogether without reproach in this respect.

In 1235 Abbot John Rading resigned the Abbacy of Oseney to join the Franciscan Friars, and the change was doubtless regarded as indicative of deep religious fervour.

About 1238 Pope Gregory IX sent his legate, Cardinal Otho, to England in order to investigate certain ecclesiastical matters. Eventually the cardinal was at Oseney Abbey, where it is said his brother was serving as master-cook to the monastery, and the visit was the occasion, and possibly the cause, of a quarrel between some University students and the abbey monks, during which the cardinal's brother was fatally injured. The cardinal legate, at night, escaped across the river, and on reaching Abingdon claimed the protection of the king, who promptly took steps to punish the scholars. Some thirty of the leaders were arrested and sent like felons to Wallingford and London. The gates of Oxford were closely watched. Lectures were suspended. Excommunication and interdict were solemnly proclaimed. And it needed all the fearless energy of Bishop Grosseteste, and his sturdy plea for common sense and justice, to

appease the angry cardinal and to secure pardon for either University or town. Even then the offenders had to take part in a penitential procession through the streets of London, and to pray for the repose of the master-cook's soul. The legate's servants, as the English bishops bluntly told him, were largely to blame for the outbreak at Oseney. But the disorders of Oxford students in the thirteenth century had not always, it is to be feared, so much excuse.¹

In 1252 the Benedictines held a Provincial Council at Oseney Abbey; a notable event, as it was very exceptional for one monastic order to hold such a meeting in the home of another order.

Between 1220 and 1270 the abbey was engaged on a fairly large scale in what in these days would be equivalent to banking business. There are records of Oxford residents depositing money at the abbey, to the value of £100² and more. The abbey paid no interest on the money deposited, for that would have been regarded as usury, and therefore wrong; but it has been suggested that guardians, trustees, and others appreciated a place honest and financially sound, where their cash could be deposited until required for use. Existing charters show that the abbey acquired much property in Oxford during this period, and it would appear that property nominally obtained by gift was often actually purchased, possibly by the interest earned by investment of the monies left at the abbey on deposit.

There is no doubt that Oseney became the wealthiest of Oxfordshire monasteries. However, in 1279 and subsequent years, Acts of Parliament, known as the Mortmain Acts, prevented acquisition of land by religious houses without a royal licence, and so Oseney was prevented from acquiring further property by purchase. Still, from the large donations which poured in upon them from kings, princes, and other distinguished persons, the abbey ultimately became one of the largest and most magnificent in the kingdom. To-day there are about a thousand Oseney charters still preserved at Christ Church, and another four hundred or so at the Bodleian Library.

In 1274 the Abbot of Oseney was among the abbots and bishops summoned by the Pope from this country to a General Council of the Church at Lyons. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Kilwarby) visited Oseney in 1276, and his successor, Archbishop Peckham, was entertained there in 1284.

Oseney had the reputation also at this period of being one of the best monasteries for discipline, for nothing is recorded of any scandal at the abbey, and rarely of anything that might be termed unsatisfactory. For example, when Robert Grosseteste, the great scholar and statesman (Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-53), visited all the monasteries in his large diocese, he deposed several abbots and priors that were negligent or inefficient, but Oseney escaped his displeasure. During his stay at Oseney Bishop Grosseteste was visited by the University Chancellor, Proctors, and Masters, to whom, it is said, he gave many fatherly instructions relating to learning and courses of studies.

¹ C. E. Mallet, *Oxford*, vol. 1. ² This would probably be equal to £1,000 or more in present day equivalent value.

In 1248 there was a lawsuit by Henry III to recover crown lands granted to Oseney by the widow of Henry I. There were also occasional contentions at law between the abbey and the city on various matters, one being a dispute as to jurisdiction in Oseney and alongside the Warham Bank. The abbey claimed feudal lordship, with its own court. The Bishop of Lincoln, to whom the case was referred, ruled that Oseney should have absolute lordship within the abbey site, Oseney Island, and a portion of Warham Bank, subject to the Oseney tenants within these limits paying their fair share of king's taxes and of the expense of sending burgesses to Parliament. Oxford Town was given full jurisdiction over Oseney tenants living east of Bookbinders' Bridge, and between Hythe Bridge on the north and the bridge of the castle mills nearest Greyfriars on the south, reserving to the tenants free use of the river and soil. There were also many disputes between Oseney and other religious houses, such as Littlemore, Godstow, S. Frideswide's, and Eynsham, over various matters concerning property and tithes.

The privileges granted to Oseney by various Popes included the following: their canons might receive ordination from any Catholic bishop; the prior and sub-prior could not be compelled to act as judges in ecclesiastical courts; the abbot could wear a mitre, use a pastoral staff, and confer minor orders on the novices. The honour of a seat in Parliament was also granted to the Abbot of Oseney, but this privilege does not appear to have pleased every abbot. In 1341 Abbot John petitioned that he might not be summoned to Parliament. In 1345 he obtained exemption, but three years later he was summoned thereto again.

THE BUILDINGS

The abbey was rebuilt and considerably enlarged about 1247, and subsequently received so many additions that eventually Oseney had the reputation of being second to none in the kingdom for magnificence; ranking but third in the matter of size, for it covered an area equal to that of Christ Church, Oxford, at the present time. No drawing or picture of the entire abbey in pre-Reformation days is known to exist, and though it may seem scarcely possible to recall the splendour and beauty of buildings which were 'one of the first ornaments of this place and nation,' yet the descriptions of the various buildings by old writers, together with drawings of ruins, provide ample material to form a tolerably good idea of what the abbey was like in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The abbey was situated on ground now occupied by the present Osney Mill, S. Mary's Cemetery, and part of the Great Western Railway track, extending southwards over the fields to the Thames, which separated Oseney property from that of the Franciscans and Dominicans, whose houses were situated in the district still called 'The Friars.' Its most direct approach from the city was through the West Gate, or a postern gate near the castle, along by

Quaking Bridge, High Street, the Hamel, and then by Ox-Mead Wall (or Osney Lane) which led toward the smaller gate of the monastery.

Although nothing certain is now known as to the plan of the various buildings it may be conjectured that the great gate stood at the north of the site. Between the great gate and the smaller gate was the *Domus Dei*, and possibly some almshouses. The whole of these buildings were probably utilized as homes for retainers, indigent folk, and poor students, for the abbey had certain property given them for the purpose of maintaining scholars without means. Near also to the great gate, and adjoining *Domus Dei*, stood the church (or chapel) of S. Nicolas.¹

Sometimes, in historical records, the chapel of S. Nicolas has been confused with S. Thomas' Church, but there is little doubt, if any, that it was quite distinct from what is now the parish church. If a chapel was erected in 1142 for the use of guests, servants, and parishioners at Osney, it might have been the S. Nicolas' Chapel. In the Osney Cartulary is a confirmation by Bishop Hugh, which can, by the witnesses, be assigned to the years 1189 to 1191. In it the bishop gives notice that the canons, 'with our assent and will have built a certain chapel before the gate of their court on their own land; with this intent that therein divine service may be celebrated for their servants and guests or even their parishioners in the immediate neighbourhood.' In the Osney Register there is no direct mention of S. Nicolas' earlier than 1225, yet it would seem dangerous to argue, from this silence, that the building did not exist. If nothing is heard of it for two hundred and sixty years after 1271, though it was in use all the time, it may be the case that it existed for half a century before 1225, although the fact does not happen to be recorded in any existing charter.²

This chapel, too, is traditionally associated with Edmund the Monk (or, as some authorities think, S. Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1234-40) as related in the story of *The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham*, in which the monk is described as being in a trance and seeing a vision of the other world, which he afterwards related to others.

On the inner side of the great gate would be the large quadrangle and cloisters, most of which was built by Abbot Leech in the thirteenth century. The cloisters, extending along three sides of the quadrangle, were covered by a timber roof, with considerable carved work on the front. The quadrangle, it is estimated, was as large as 'Tom Quad' at Christ Church. The refectory (sometimes called the fraterhouse), the common hall for meals, was probably on the south of the quadrangle. The kitchen, adjoining the refectory, was supplied with water brought through pipes from the Hinksey hills; while another writer says King John, in 1213, commanded the Sheriff of Oxford to permit the Abbot Clement to cause a four-inch leaden pipe to be laid underground as a water-course from the Thames. The infirmary for the sick monks

¹ Visitors to Abingdon will recall that S. Nicolas' Church there is just outside the abbey gateway.

² *Vide* Introduction to *The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham*, by the Rev. H. E. Salter in *Eynsham Cartularies*. Also see pp. 1-3

probably stood at the south, near the river, and adjoining it was a little chapel or oratory. The dormitory, one authority says, measured 169 feet long and 32 feet broad. The abbot's house, with a very fine guest hall,¹ was celebrated for its splendour, and frequently honoured with the company of 'kings, prelates, and nobles of the first rank.' King Henry III, after he had raised the siege before Kenilworth Castle, at the insurrection of the barons, was entertained here at Christmas, 1265, the visit being memorable for 'great revellings and mirth.' The guest hall was approached by a great stone staircase wide enough for five or six people to walk up abreast.

Most important of all was the abbey church, dedicated to our Lady. It has been described as the envy of other monasteries at home and abroad, and admired beyond words, not only by our own countrymen generally, but also by continental people who came to visit the University. However this may be, there seems little doubt that it was a lofty, magnificent building, cruciform in plan, with two towers, one in the centre where nave and transepts intersected, and a still higher tower at the west end, containing a peal of ten bells,² having the reputation of being the finest in England. Seven of these bells were the gift of Abbot Leech, who did so much for the rebuilding of the abbey about 1247 and later.

The church, which it is conjectured measured about 350 feet in length and 100 feet in width, had four aisles, and in addition to the high altar (solemnly dedicated by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1267) there were no less than twenty-three smaller altars,³ probably several with a separate chapel. Mention is also made of the bright and rich tapestry, stained glass, and the richly carved wood and stone work, which gave to the walls, pillars, and arches a beautiful and inspiring effect. The interior of this great building was covered with paintings and gilded lavishly. There were two Lady chapels it is said, one on the north side, as at Ely, and the other projecting from the choir eastwards. The church also contained several marble tombs with effigies, including those of Editha, wife of

¹ Guests sometimes paid their own expenses. Bishop Giffard of Worcester lodged at Oseney in 1284 at his own charges, but in 1285 at the expense of the house.

² Hospitality was the duty of all monasteries, but it was exercised most freely by the great Benedictine monasteries and some houses of Augustinian Canons . . . At the Augustinian monastery of Barnwell, it was part of the hosteller's duty "to be careful that perfect cleanliness and propriety should be found in his department, namely to keep clean cloths and clean towels, cups without flaws, spoons of silver, mattresses, blankets, sheets not merely clean but untorn, proper pillows; quilts to cover the beds, of full length and width and pleasing to the eyes of those who enter the room, a proper laver of metal, a bason clean both inside and out; in winter a candle and candlesticks; fire that does not smoke, writing materials; clean salt in salt-cellars that have been well scrubbed; food served in porringers that have been well washed and are unbroken, the whole Guest House kept clean of spiders-webs and dirt and strewn with rushes under foot; . . . a sufficient quantity of straw in the beds; keys and locks to the doors and good bolts on the inside, so as to keep the doors securely locked while the guests are asleep." The hosteller was bidden to remember that "by showing cheerful hospitality to guests the reputation of the monastery is increased, friendships are multiplied, animosities are blunted. God is honoured, charity is increased, and a pteuous reward in heaven is promised" (Rose Graham in *Medieval England*. Oxford Univ. Press).

³ Including the famous bell, 'Great Tom,' over seven feet in diameter, and weighing nearly seven tons, which was dedicated to S. Thomas of Canterbury and bore originally the legend—'in Thomae laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude.'

⁴ The dedications were S. Mary, S. Michael, S. Paul, S. Stephen, S. Agnes, S. Cecilia, S. Martin, S. Gregory, S. John Baptist, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Augustine, S. Nicholas, S. Andrew, S. Bartholomew, S. John the Evangelist, S. Lawrence, S. Katharine, S. Mary (on the north side), S. Edward the Confessor, S. Peter, S. George, S. Frideswide, S. Edmund, King.

Robert D'Oyley, the founder ; Adam, Bishop of St. Asaph ; Ela, Countess of Warwick ; Philip de Eya, Lord Treasurer to Henry III ; and many of the abbots.

In the thirteenth century, when Oseney was rebuilt, most monastic churches, like the cathedrals, were planned and carried out on a vast scale as pattern churches of their respective neighbourhoods. The buildings, the ornaments, furniture, and vestments, were the richest and best obtainable, because it was then so keenly felt by all concerned that only the best should be provided where God was to be worshipped in the fullest and most dignified splendour. Oseney had the reputation of being amongst the most magnificent churches of the period. One writer indeed goes so far as to say that not all the combined beauty of the greatest cathedrals in the English Church could equal the magnificence of the High Mass in the now forgotten abbey of Oseney. It should be remembered, too, that the period of rebuilding and enlargement was the age which saw the full flower of Gothic architecture, the time when Lincoln, Salisbury, and Ely Cathedrals, and many of our most beautiful churches, were completed, and which still remain among the noblest in the land.

Other buildings within the abbey precincts included a kilnhouse, conduit-house, schoolhouse, bakehouse, brewhouse, malthouse, and slaughterhouse ; and beside these a tannery, timber-yard, and four mills. One mill was erected within a few years of the foundation (the river rights from Rewley Abbey site to Oseney were given to the latter by Bernard of St. Walerye in the early part of Henry II's reign). About 1149 two other mills were added, one a fulling mill ; while a fourth was added in the reign of Henry III. In the reign of Henry IV there were quarrels between Oseney and the city over things concerning the river, and amongst other things Oseney was charged with appropriating water which should have fed the city mill. There was also a prison house at the abbey, which may seem strange, but Oseney had its own civil courts for the district, and persons charged or convicted of heresy were occasionally sent to Oseney ; the canons receiving and keeping such as prisoners on the authority of the Bishop of Lincoln.¹ The tannery did considerable business, for it dressed and prepared skins not only for the shoemakers, bookbinders, and parchment-makers of the abbey, but also for other religious houses near.

Numbers of craftsmen, such as shoemakers, tailors, bookbinders, illuminators, wax-chandlers, tanners, millers and others, who lived outside, had their workshops within the abbey gates. The trades and professions in connection with the abbey were so numerous that the district in quite early days was sometimes spoken of as 'Oseney-town.' Certain houses near were occupied by widows and widowers on a lease which came to an end if the occupier contracted marriage. Old writers also mention the pleasant walks by the riverside, orchards, fishponds, and dove-cotes as features of the abbey grounds.

¹ 'In 1244 the Bishop of Lincoln appointed the Abbot of Oseney and the Prior of S. Frideswide's as his deputies for receiving imprisoned clerks from the sheriff' (T. E. Holland, *The Twelfth Century University*).

FOURTEENTH, FIFTEENTH, AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

During the fourteenth century little of outstanding importance seems to be recorded of Oseney. Apparently the monastery was well established and maintaining its high reputation. Changes were few and far between. Even of the abbots only three were elected during the whole century. Among the few things of interest recorded at this period, Abbot John of Kidlington, who ruled from 1330 to 1373, rebuilt Hythe Bridge, and the abbot who succeeded him built a lock on the river near Rewley Abbey. In 1330 a Parliament was held at Oseney. Oseney Abbey was visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury (William Courtenay) on November 13, 1384; and in 1392 another Council of Bishops was held at Oseney.

In 1386 Richard II, by writ of the Privy Seal, granted to the abbey for ever the moiety of two mills under the castle of Oxford, and a meadow near Oseney called Kingsmead upon an annual payment of £20. In 1369 William of Wykeham purchased of Oseney Abbey two acres of land in the parish of S. Peter's for the site of the New College. In 1377 Oseney claimed to be considered as outside the suburbs of Oxford and free of contributions to the taxes paid by the town.

In 1439 Abbot Hokenorton built a new and substantial range of lecture rooms in the town, which the abbey let to masters for their use, and which became the chief Arts schools of the University—the new schools of that day. It is also on record that Oseney built fourteen out of the thirty-two schools in School Street, a street that was near to Brasenose College.

In 1443 there was a somewhat special triennial meeting of the Order of the Augustinian Canons held at Oseney, lasting for three instead of the usual two days. As it covered a week-end a solemn procession was arranged to go on the Sunday to S. Frideswide's, in which the two hundred or so members took part.

When the middle of the fifteenth century is reached some signs of deterioration are noticed at Oseney. At the Visitation held in 1445 there were at the abbey twenty-six canons beside the abbot, but the discipline was hardly quite satisfactory: a grievance, to name but one, being that the canons in the infirmary were not supplied with suitable light food. About 1460 the English Register of Oseney was written, but scholars say it was 'not well done.'

Oseney continued as a place of learning, with a school, right up to the end of the fifteenth century, for in 1495 there was an arrangement 'by Robert, the then abbot, granting to Roger Fowell, clerk, of Bessellesley, an honest chamber in the garden of the convent. The abbot is to find him in meat and drink, as though a canon. He in return is to receive the recourse of people coming to him for the sick, to instruct such novices of the place as are sent to him in grammar, to celebrate divine service at feasts, and to visit the sick when required.'¹

¹ C. W. Boase, *Oxford*.

In February, 1499, the Bishop of Lincoln¹ officially visited the abbey, which was then in debt and some of the buildings out of repair. The abbot and the canons were admonished and instructed to reduce their expenditure in various ways, and no strangers were to be invited to feasts² at the expense of the abbey.

The records of the Visitations in 1518 and 1520³ indicate that there were then, beside the abbot, nineteen canons and six novices. The canons complained that the bishop by excommunicating their abbot had brought discredit on the abbey. This act was due to a refractory canon, who, after being admonished many times for irreligious behaviour, eventually received sentence of banishment to Ireland. The canon however fled to the Bishop of Lincoln, and for this he was excommunicated by the abbot, and the bishop apparently in return excommunicated the abbot.

A little later, in the matter of the king's divorce, and Henry VIII's consequent determination to defy papal authority, and his insistence of being regarded as supreme head of the Church of England, it is recorded that on July 23, 1534, the abbot and canons of Oseney took the oath, and subscribed their names, acknowledging the royal supremacy in the Church 'as far as the law of Christ allows.'

And now is reached the time of events which led on to the general suppression of the monasteries. On January 30, 1535, a new survey and valuation of all ecclesiastical and monastic property was ordered and completed within five or six months; the result being the historical document known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The income of Oseney was then £755, with a clear value of £654.⁴ Early in the same year the royal supremacy had fully asserted itself, as shown by the trials and execution of great and learned men like Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and others.

THE DISSOLUTION

Soon Thomas Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in spiritual matters, ordered a Visitation of the Monasteries generally. In six months the commissioners had visited about one-third of the monasteries and had collected sufficient evidence for the king's purpose. Dr. Layton and Dr. Tregonwell were the official visitors to Oseney and, among other things, ordered that no canon should leave the precincts of the abbey for any cause. Against this Abbot John Burton protested to Cromwell, because it would prevent him from getting in his rents and attending to the repairs of the abbey manors and buildings. Further, the abbot protested that if he was to remain continually in such a damp place as Oseney his life would be shortened. As a result of the Visitations an Act was

¹ William Smith (1496-1514), Chancellor of Oxford, 1500-1503, benefactor to Ornel, Lincoln, and Brasenose Colleges.

² See the account of S. George's-in-the-Castle, p. 62.

³ At this Visitation by Bishop Atwater, among the documents produced was the grant of the Pope that the abbot might use a mitre and pastoral staff and confirm minor orders.

⁴ Probably in present day value equal to some £5,000 or more.

soon passed for the suppression of the smaller monasteries (those with less than twelve monks), and tradition says the Commons were only induced to pass the Bill by the king's threats 'to take some of their heads' if they refused.

It was soon apparent that suppressions were to be carried out on a larger scale than the Act warranted, and this was done by a process of surrender, obtained through threats and pressure by the commissioners in various ways. In January, 1537, Abbot Burton was accused of speaking 'obstreperous' words against the king's majesty. Fortunately perhaps for him he did not live long enough to see the more important changes, for he died in November of the same year.

After Abbot Burton's death, the Prior of Oseney wrote to Cromwell desiring the king's permission for the new abbot to be elected from the brethren of the abbey.¹ Cromwell, however, did not act upon the prior's request, but nominated Robert King, a Cistercian monk. Originally at Rewley Abbey, he had become successively Abbot of Thame, Bishop of Reon in the Province of Athens, and then suffragan to the Bishop of Lincoln.

On December 22, 1537, Dr. London, Warden of New College, the chief agent of Cromwell for the suppression of monasteries in Oxfordshire, wrote to his master that 'the canons of Oseney had elected Abbot King according to your instructions.' Thus it would seem that the election of Abbot King was secured in the royal interest in order to simulate an appearance of monastic rule and governance, though mainly to secure an easy compliance with the intentions of the king. And so, accordingly, within two years of his election, on November 17, 1539,² Oseney Abbey was surrendered by Abbot King to the royal commissioners, the monastery then containing twelve canons. The original document of surrender may still be seen at the Public Record Office, London.³

THE NEW SEE OF OSENEY

The monastery, however, was soon, without any alteration of the fabric, converted into a cathedral establishment 'adorned with an episcopall chaire'; and in this way Oseney outlived many other dissolved abbeys for a time.

Henry VIII, as if desirous of making compensation to the Church for the spoliation of so many monasteries, proposed the founding of six new dioceses, to be endowed out of the revenues of the dissolved religious houses, and in this project was included a Bishopric of Oseney.⁴ It was carried into effect in 1542, but the new title of Abbot King was Bishop of Oxford, his cathedral being at Oseney. The endowments of the new diocese included the manors of Medley, Watereaton, Hook Norton, Watlington, Steeple Claydon, and Stow, all belonging to Oseney; and the manors of Tetsworth and Stoke Talmage, formerly

¹ The heads of monasteries, though nominally elected by the monks, had for some time apparently been chosen by outside authorities.

² Only two days before, on November 15, the Abbot of Reading Abbey and the Abbot of Glastonbury Abbey were executed, because they refused to obey Cromwell's orders.

³ See Plate lxi.

⁴ Bishop King is not infrequently called the first and only Bishop of Oseney; but this title does not appear in the patent of creation. The town of Oxford at the creation of the bishopric received also an accession of dignity in its civil capacity, for it gained by a clause in the patent the title of a city (Marshall, *Diocesan History of Oxford*).

belonging to Thame Abbey, beside many acres of land in S. Thomas' Parish, half the moiety of the castle mills, and the fishing rights in the stream between Hythe Bridge and the castle.

Gloucester Hall was assigned to the bishop as his palace, while the residences of the former abbots and canons at Oseney were handed over to the new dean and chapter, which consisted of the aforementioned Dr. London as dean, and six prebendaries, all nominated by the king. There were also appointed chaplains, singing men, choristers, and organist for divine service, together with officials and servants for attendance in various ways.

Dr. London stayed at Oseney for about fifteen months only, being ejected for perjury and other matters relating to the execution of several people at Windsor, where he had held office as a Canon of S. George's. Dr. Cox succeeded Dr. London as dean, but the new arrangements lasted less than three years, for in 1545 the bishopric and the cathedral establishment was transferred to Christ Church. The Oseney property was then surrendered by the chapter into the king's hands. At the same time Bishop King ceased to hold Gloucester Hall, and it is said built for himself a house in S. Aldate's.¹

Having passed through all the exceptional changes which occurred in the Church in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, without losing his position or office, Bishop King died on December 4, 1558, and was buried in the cathedral at Christ Church, his tomb and memorial window still being prominent features in the south aisle.

THE SPOILIATION OF THE BUILDINGS

After the transference of the cathedral chapter to Christ Church, Henry VIII sold the greater part of the abbey to a rich clothier named Stumpe,² who has the reputation also of acquiring Malmesbury Abbey and turning it into a cloth factory. At Oseney the church, cloisters, and the woodwork were, however, reserved to the king. Much of the stone and other material was carted to Christ Church, 'Great Tom' and four or five of the other bells³ now in the Wolsey Tower forming part of the spoil. It is thought that the lantern-like pendants in the elaborate tracery of the cathedral choir were originally at Oseney. The figure of S. Mary Magdalene now appearing in the west side of the tower of the Oxford church of that name also, it has been said, came from Oseney.

The appendices to this chapter give some curious information in regard to the destruction of the abbey church and cloisters.⁴ The buildings were not totally destroyed for some time, as it is said that in Queen Mary's reign Mass

¹ It is doubtful, however, whether the house now known as Bishop King's palace was ever seen by the bishop as it bears the date 1628. It may occupy the site of Bishop King's palace.

² See Appendix, p. 101.

³ The moving of the bells alone from Oseney involved considerable labour. It took six days to get the bells down for transport to Christ Church. There was also 'paid to Haryson' for lending men to help get down the great bell, and to the carpenter and his men for work in the steeple 'abowt the great bell and his frame,' as also 'Item' for ale to the workmen at ye wyndyng up of the great bell into Friswides steeple.'

⁴ See p. 98.

was celebrated in the remains of the church, perhaps in the choir portion. Towers and walls were standing in Queen Elizabeth's days, and the central tower and vast portions of the walls existed till the siege of Oxford in the Civil War of the seventeenth century.¹ It is thought that the ruins above the ground line were demolished at that period, for King Charles' earthworks were thrown up on the abbey site, and the mill for the time being became a gunpowder mill.

Part of the stone used for the old Clarendon Press in Broad Street, built about 1712, came from Oseney. In 1718 the abbot's chamber and the great stone staircase were all that was left. In Dr. Johnson's time a few ruins could still be seen, of which the great man said (at a time when such sentiments were uncommon) : ' Sir, to look upon them fills me with great indignation.' Hearne, in his diary for 1712, mentions a house at the west end of Pennyfarthing Street² as being built of stone from Oseney.

In 1716 the same antiquary has a record about ' stone coffins for abbots such as I have seen dug up in the ground in which the church of Oseney Abbey stood.' About this time there were also found at the site ' a Roman coin of the first magnitude ' and some rare medals supposed to have been buried with the monks. Some years before Anthony Wood, the famous Oxford chronicler, gave eightpence to a man for two coins—' one of Pope John,'—found at Oseney. In 1754 the site was known as ' Oseney ground.'

Quantities of carved stone, tiles, glazing lead, etc., have been constantly dug up in S. Mary's cemetery and the Osney Mill grounds, some of these relics now being in the Ashmolean Museum and Oxford Town Hall. Traces of foundations, actual walls, heaps of demolished masonry, etc., have been discovered from time to time over a wide area of the site. An old burying place, containing two stone coffins, was some few years back traced in the eastern portion of the present cemetery, and a body wrapped in lead was unearthed in the western part.

The only remains of Oseney Abbey now existing in original positions are at Osney Mill, and consist of one small building with a fine fifteenth-century interior timber roof and an arched gateway³ with some arcading adjoining. These once formed part of an extensive range of buildings called the Canons' Buildings, the tall, steep roof being of a peculiar character.

' Thus perished the first cathedral church of the See of Oxford. . . . Apart from questions of vandalism, the destruction of this the first Cathedral of Oxford was an egregious piece of waste and folly. Such places have been only too much needed by the University—indeed the need was felt a few years after the destruction—and vast sums have been spent in the erection of immeasurably inferior buildings. If Oseney Abbey, with its crowd of beautiful outbuildings along the water side, had been converted into a college, it would have been of immense use, and every other college now extant insignificant when compared with it. Of

¹ A note about remains of old glass existing at this time says : ' These coates of armes are in old glass in the windows of the remayning buildings of this abbey. (i) D'Oyley, (ii) Bishop Longland of Lincoln, (iii) France and England. These coates above mentioned remained after the powder house was blowne up there, being February 27, 1643 ' (Symonds, *Oxford Church Notes*, 1643-4. Ed. by Rose Graham, F.R.H.S., in *Collectanea*, 4th Series, O.H.S.).
² Now Pembroke Street.
³ See Plate lxiii.

all the headstrong and wanton actions of an irreverent age, the destruction of Oseney was one of the most wicked; and, as the train moves into Oxford railway station, the stranger may remember that the present approach to the old city is only so hideous because the glorious old abbey has given place to a collection of gasholders, coal-heaps, railway sidings, modern tombstones, and obscene jerry-buildings.¹

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER ON OSENEY ABBEY

I. AN INVENTORY OF ALL THE ORNAMENTES, CATTELLES, AND JEWELLES BELONGING TO THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST AT OSENEY, 1528

Hereafter foloweth an Inventory of all the ornamentes cattelles and Jewelles belonging to the late cathedrall church of christ . . . of Oxforde taken and made the 19th day of May in the 37 yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde Henry theight . . . Irelande kinge defendour of the faith and in earthe supreme hedd of the church of Englonde and Irelande by Thomas Lye . . . commissioners in that behalf in the presens of Mr. Doctour Cox Deane Mr. Belsir Mr. Day Mr. Haynes Mr. Bysley Mr. Dyer . . . John Paine William Plummer William Spenser Richarde Whyzttington John Dobson and Thomas Williams sworn for the . . . Mr. Cox Deane according to the kinges commission safely to be kept to his Majesties use tyll his highnes pleasure be farther knowen . . . the saide commissioners as the Deane and the Prebendaries hath to theis presentes enterchangeably setto their seales and subscribyde their names . . .

Ornamentes.

A cloth for the sepulcre ²	-	-	-	-	-	3s. 4d.
Three copys of ymagery worke with strekes of golde olde	-	-	-	-	-	20s.
One cope of red velvet with two tynnicles ³ to the same	-	-	-	-	-	30s.
Another cope of redd with whyte lyons	-	-	-	-	-	26s. 8d.
A cope of whyte dammaske with the sewyt longinge to the same	-	-	-	-	-	16s.
A sewyt of redd with sterres	-	-	-	-	-	20s.
A sewyt of whyte with flowres of bawdkyn	-	-	-	-	-	13s. 4d.
A singyll vestment of whyte dammaske	-	-	-	-	-	5s.
A banner of tyssew ⁴	-	-	-	-	-	5s.
A veyle cloth for Lent ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	12d.
An aulter cloth of bustian ⁶ diaperwurke	-	-	-	-	-	4s.
Two paire of curteyns	-	-	-	-	-	2s.
A aulter cloth of grene	-	-	-	-	-	3s. 4d.
Three frontalles						

In Oseney Church.

Imprimis 5 aulters with 5 tabletes of alabaster and three tabernacles in the carolles ⁷ behinde the highe aulter with a crucifixe	-	-	-	10s.
In Our Lady chapell a aulter with an olde tabernacle of woode and 2 olde seetes in the same with a backe therto	-	-	-	16d.

¹ Percy Dearmer, D.D., *Oxford, the Cathedral and See*.

² A structure in which the Host or a crucifix was laid or burned on Good Friday afternoon.

³ Tunicle—vestment for the subdeacon. ⁴ A rich cloth of gold.

⁵ The Lent veil for hanging between the choir and the altar. ⁶ A kind of fustian. ⁷ Small enclosures.

In the sowth yle 2 marbell stones for tumbes two trowes of free stone	-	2s.
Two aulters with tabernacles of alabaster to the same and 2 seetes with backes		3s. 4d.
In the body of the church 2 aulters with two tabernacles of alabaster and foure formes	- - - - -	5s.
A lanterne of glasse	- - - - -	4d.
The rode lofte with the stayre and the qwere with the stalles and backesyde untill the bysshoppes see	- - - - -	5li.
In the qwere 4 antiphoners Sarum	- - - - -	26s. 8d.
One grayle Sarum	- - - - -	5s.
Foure processionalles Sarum	- - - - -	3s. 4d.
Two olde Masse bokes and two olde legendes	- - - - -	3s. 4d.
The high aulter with a tablet of woode and a tabernacle therto	- -	10s.
A sepulcre of woode and a dexte of woode for the gospeller	- -	20d.
A brawnche plated of woode	- - - - -	3s. 4d.
Item a othier olde dexte	- - - - -	2d.
Item a dext of brasse with a egle	- - - - -	20s.

A forme and a setty . . .

the qwere with bord . . .

Item a greate chest a . . .

Item in the qwere 15 . . .

and fyve of them new g . . .

In the carolles behinde the . . .

13 lightes glased with olde glasse . . .

In the sowth yle 21 lightes g . . .

and 3 of them with new gla(sse) . . .

In the body of the church with . . .

west wyndow 15 lightes and 3 of them new glasse . . .

Item in the north yle 36 lightes glased and 3 of them new glasse . .

In oure Lady chapell 17 lightes olde glased . . .

Catell.

Item 3 mares and a olde geldinge with a carte . . .

[Signed at foot]

Ric. Cox. Thomas Daye . . . de Beseley. John Dy . . .

[On the dorse]

. . . of new tymbre 43 peces.

. . . 3 patens weying 51 unc. and a half.

. . . of Mary and John sylver and gilte weying 116 unc.

. . . a byrall sylver and gilte weyinge 90 unc.

. . . es sylver and gilte weyinge 53 unc.

. . . lated with counterfetyde stones.

. . . a litill spone for franconsense gilte and two cruetes weyinge 25 unc.

. . . e plated with three evangelistes in the corners.

- . . . ated with four cristalles.
- . . . llywater boket with a sprinckell sylver and parcell gilte weyinge 27 unc.
- . . . paire of candelstickes of sylver and parcell gilte weyinge 50 unces.
- . . . crysmatory of sylver parcell gilte weyinge 12 unc.
- . . . two sensers parcell gilte weyinge 68 unc.

Printed in *The Edwardian Inventories for Oxfordshire*.

Ed. by Rose Graham, F.R.H.S., for the Alcuin Club London.

II. SOME DETAILS OF THE DESECRATION, DESTRUCTION, AND SPOILIATION

1546, Mich. *Payments made on account of the surrender of Oseney and Saint Frideswyde, ending Michaelmas, 38th Hen. VIII.*

Imprimis, to Poppyng Jaye the joyner, for taking down ye stalls and sydes of ye quire and hye aultar, and other thyngs in ye church, for hymself viij days, xs.

Item, to Poppyng Jaye for hymselfe iij days, at takyng downe ye roffe of ye church, xviiij*d*.

Item, for carege of one myllstock for the fullyng myll, and expenses therabout, xviijs.

Item, to Syngleton, for setting the gable rope from Newbery to pull downe ye bells, iiijs.

Item, to John Wesburne, carpenter, takyng down the bell, for hymself iij days, ijs.

Payd to Mr. Raynold for meltyng of the leade of the church, and castyng into sowes, xvj*li*. viijs. viij*d*.

Payd to William Plummer for takyng doune the leade of the cloyster and castyng hit into sowes, iiij*li*. iijs. ij*d*.

Item, to John Wesburne, chief carpenter, takyng down the bells for vj days, iijs.

Item, to Geoffrey Vyne iiij day about takyng downe ye battelments of the church and upon the porch, ijs. vij*d*.

Item, paid to Haryson for one day goyng to ye wode to helpe home tymber, and for lendyng his men to help downe the great bell, viij*d*.

Item, to Wesburne and his men, one day in ye steple abowt the great bell and his frame, iijs.

Item, payd to Wellbye of Ensham, for caryege of the great bell to Fryswids, 26 September, xxs.

Item, for ale to theym laboreres at ye wyndyng up of the great bell into Friswides steple, iiij*d*.

Item, for his (John Wesburne) iij laborers hangyng the great bell, makyng the flore, vs. vd.

Item, to ij felowes helpyng to hang hit up, ij*d*.

Item, payd to Wynkyll the smyth, in parte of payment for his yron worke about the mylls and Fryswids, and the great bell clapper, xls.

Item, to Wesburne, carpenter, setting upon the frame and bells into Fryswides steple, xiijs.

Item, to Rafe White, joyner, workyng for the quere and for ye organs, for hymself and his iij servants, vj daies, xiijs. vj*d*.

Item, to John Wesburne, chief carpenter, at the steple at Fryswides, vj days, iijs.

Item, paid to Mastres Iryshe for wyne to Fryswithes Church sythe tyme of the surrender untill the vij day of July, 37 Hen. viij, as aperith by the skores for v quarters, viz., a yere and quarter, xlvs. viij*d*.

Item, for viij yardes and a half of tape for to make gyrdyls for the albys, iiij*d*.

Bodleian MS. quoted in W. H. Turner's *Records of the City of Oxford*, 1509-83.

III. MINUTES OF THE LEASING OF OSENEY ABBEY TO WILLIAM STUMPE, CLOTHIER, OF MALMESBURY, IN 1546

(A) *What Mr. Stumppe must have at Osney concernyng howses.*

The gate howse, the howses by the gate, with Mr. Bysleys lodgyng, horcharde, garden, and all other appartayning.

Mr. Lynches lodgyng and his garden, the long stable.

The tymber yard, the dovehowse.

Mr. Deanes lodgyng, with the lodgyngs annexed and chapell, his kytchyn and his stable.

The myll howses with all other howses in that reawe.

Mr. Belsyres lodgyng, Mr. Days lodgyng with the backhowse.

Mr. Belsyre stable, Mr. Days stable.

The slaughter howse with other in that reawe, two lytle chambres over the gates within the great courte.

The great hygh howse betwyx Mr. Days lodgyng and the late greatt cloyster with a lyttell howse annexed where the cooke dyd lye.

Mr. Haynes lodgyng, with the great hall above and the great parler beneath annexed to the same.

The scole howse, with a lyttle chamber annexed wher Lant lay.

The howses at the north end of the dorter.

Mr. Dyars lodgyng, the fraters and the dorter.

The great barn in the dovehowse close.

(B) *What Mr. Stumppe must have at Osney concernyng medowes, groundes, waters, and mylls about Osney.*

The aley meadow.

The ox close.

All orchardes and powndes within the ground of the late cathedrall church there.

The dove house close, the churchyards.

The meadow at the hygh brydge fote towards Hynksey.

The fredom of the caryege by ferye.

The mylles, the waters with the fysshynge apporteyning to Osney, with the benefits of the water of Ruley, to helpe the mylles at Osney, no fysshynge or other benefite went.

Also Mr. Stumppe shall have the premises for terme of . . . yeres.

Item, he shall have libertye at any tyme hereafter to sett a myll upon Ruley waters, agreyng with the lordes for the grownde.

Item, that he shall fell no tree or trees within the precynct of the late church without the specyall lycenc of the Deane or officer for the tyme beyng apoynted for that and suche other purposes.

Item, that the church of Osney and all the stones of the same be reserved to the Deane

and Canons for the buyldyngs at Frydeswyd, and that they may have ingresse and egresse att all tymes for carvege of the same.

Item, that he shall have no newe tymber nor olde at Osney. To have the oxe close hoolly after that William Plummerts lease is expyred, and duryng William Plummerts terme for thannunciacon untill Mychaelmas, so that William Plummer and his wyfe for their life tymes have allways goyng there at their pleasure one horse or geldyng. And after their bothe departures or dethes, to geve to one of theyr chyldren at William Plummerts assignment duryng theyr lease yerely xs.

(C) *What Mr. Stumppe must do havynge Osney.*

Fyrst, he must paye yerely for rent in the whole xvij*li*. by equall partes at the foure usuall termes.

Second, he shall make noo undertenant, nor leave hit to ony man with owt the consent of the Deane and Chapter there, provided that the Deane and Chapter shall gyve their consent withoutt difficultie, yf the undertenant be honest and hable to occupye the said howses and mylles, accordyngly to the meanyng of the indentures.

Thyrldy, he must bynd hymself to fynd worke for ijM (2,000) persons from tyme to tyme, if they may be gotten, that wyll do their worke well contynually in clothemakyng, for the succour of the Ctyte of Oxenford and the contrey abowt yt, for the which intent the mylles were made.

Fourthly, that he shall repayr the high bridge and all the other brydges in the paryshe of S. Nycolas from tyme to tyme duryng his terme, and well repayred leave them in the end of his terme, and all this at his proper charges.

Vly, that he shall repayre all the ryver and ryvers, dyke and dykes, bancke and banckes, apperteynyng to the churche aforesaid, at his proper charges, and so leave theym at the end of his lease.

Vjthly, that he shall repayr, kepe uppe, and maynteyn all suche howses as shalbe left unto his use, and to leave them in good reparations at the end of his terme at his owne costs and charges.

Vijthly, yt he shall repayr all the mylles, and so kepe and leave them at his proper chardges.

Viiijthly, that he shall repayre, mayntayne, and kepe uppe all the walles, hedges, and waters abowt the whole grownd of Osney and precynct of the late cathedral churche of Oxenford, and sufficiently to kepe the moundes of the same, and so to leave theym at his proper charges, and so that the water may not overgoo and destroye the grounde there in any part.

Also penalties must be apoynted for non payment of rent, for non keypyng of other poyntes, and likewise for not leavyng all well.

Gough MS., Oxon., 70. Printed in Turner's *Records of the City of Oxford*, 1509-83.

IV. LIST OF OSENEY BUILDINGS AS MENTIONED BY DR. TANNER IN HIS LETTER TO DR. BROWNE WILLIS ON JULY 12, 1728

CH. CH., OXON.,
July 12, 1728.

DEAR MR. WILLIS,

. . . You are pretty particular I find in enumerating the several parts of the old Buildings of this and other old Abbeys—so that perhaps it will please your curiosity to have such account of the names and bigness of the Lodgings and Offices belonging to Osney as may

be found upon the leases and other papers since it was made part of the endowment of Christ Church. How they were situated I don't pretend to describe, perhaps Mr. Wood's may be the most exact : but in a loose old paper some of the buildings are reckoned up and perhaps rightly in this order :

	<i>Feet long.</i>	<i>Feet broad.</i>
The Long Stable - - - - -	—	—
Mr. Bysely's Lodgings - - - - -	55	25
Another house adjoining to the same - - - - -	40	—
Where the Almesmen lay - - - - -	30	—
Two propre chambers at the end of the Dortre with rooms above and beneath them - - - - -	—	—
The Dorter* - - - - -	169	32
The Frater* with a pulpit in it (*both with vaults underneath)	140	36
The Brewhouse - - - - -	40	32
The slaughter house with other offices thereto belonging -	84	—
The Abbats Hall—the Abbats High Hall or Abbat John's Hall standing alone Southward from the Fratrie next the Orchard - - - - -	46	34
The Leaded Lodging [in another place called the Leaden Chamber] or Mr. Dyer's Lodging - - - - -	45	26
The parler under Mr. Dyer's Lodging - - - - -	—	—
The Kiln House with the Furnese House - - - - -	76	32
Mr. Belsyre's Stable - - - - -	40	16
The loft over the Schole - - - - -	50	24
The Schoolmaster's Chamber - - - - -	24	16
The Schole House - - - - -	—	—
Mr. Haynes lodging - - - - -	—	—
The Great Hall - - - - -	59	33
The Yate House. I suppose this was the outergate House or the gate House at the entrance of the Abbey - - - - -	—	—
The Little Chamber near the same - - - - -	—	—
The porters Lodge - - - - -	—	—
The Great Barn - - - - -	88	28

Thus far that paper, which is imperfect, because I find in others mention of other Buildings, viz. :

The Middle Gate House.
 Mr. Lynch's Lodging.
 The Dove House.
 The Miln House.
 Mr. Deys lodgings.
 Mr. Belsires lodgings.
 The Deans lodgings distinct from the Abbats lodgings.
 The Deans Stable with the lodging annexed.
 The Bake House.
 The Common Kitchen.
 The Firmory.
 The Chapter House.

The Jakes House.
 The Prison House.
 The Conduit House adjoining to the Fraternity and Cloysters.
 The Great Tower in which was Clock and Chymes.
 The whole Church with the vaults.

In MS. Rawlinson D. 1481, fol. 32, is another list of the Buildings in Bp. Tanner's hand, here reprinted.

Mannor House or syte of the Mannor of the Cathedral Church of O[seney].

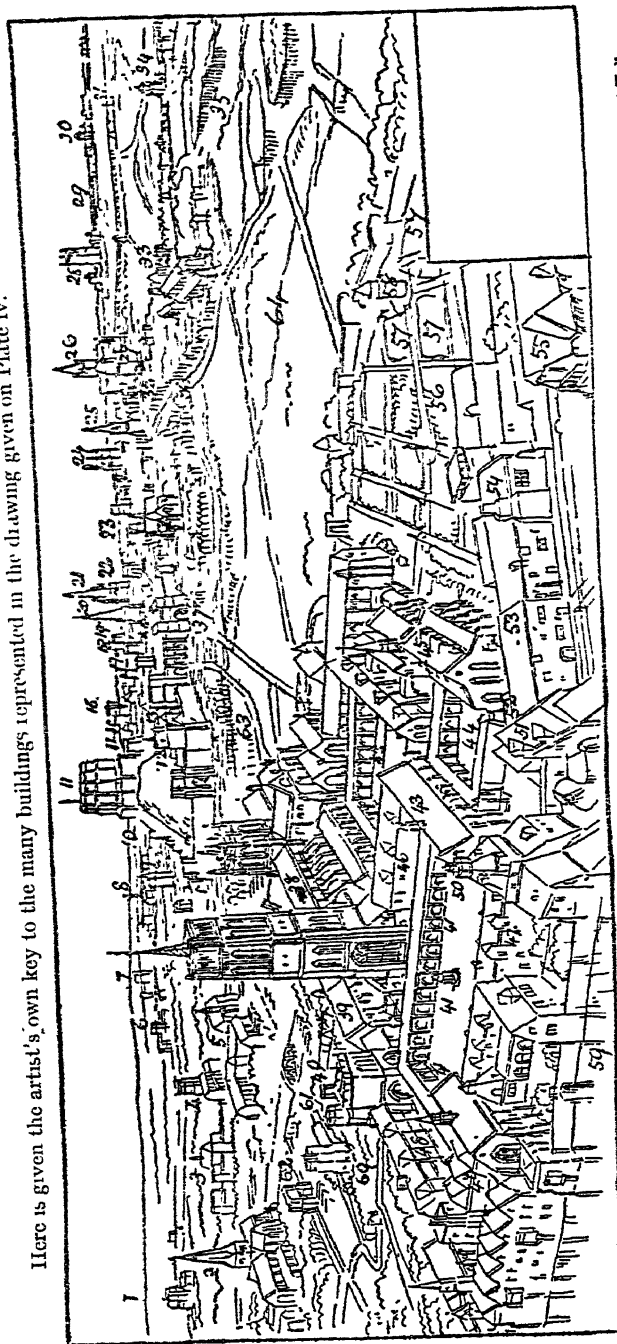
- | | |
|------------|---|
| | High Hall—The Abbot's lodging standing alone next ye Orchard with ye yards and gatehouse. |
| | Mr. Lynchs lodging. |
| The Frater | The Dove house. |
| | The Miln house. |
| | Mr. Deys lodgings. |
| The Dorter | The Bakehouse. |
| | Mr. Belsires lodgings. |
| | The Deans lodging. |
| The Church | The Deans Stable with the lodging annexed therunto. |
| | Columbines Orchyd. |
| | The Abbats Garden. |
| | (11) The Leaden Chamber. |
| | The Common Kitchin. |
| | The firmary. |
| | The Chapter House. |
| | The Jakes house. |
| | The Prison House. |
| | The whole Church with the vaults of ye same. |
| | The Tower. |
| | The Conduite House adjoyning to the Frateries and Cloyster walls of the West side of ye Cloyster. |
1. The long stable—utterly taken away.
 2. Mr. Bysleys Lodgings in length 55 f. in breadth 25 f.
 3. Another house adjoyning to ye same lodging at ye E. End in length 40 f.
 4. Where the Almesmen lay in length 30 f.
 5. At the end of the Dortre 2. propre Chambers, with rooms beneath and above them.
 6. Dorter in length 169 f. in breadth 32 f.
 7. Frater in length 140 f. bredth 36 f.—the Pulpit in decay. } With vaults underneath.
 8. . . . in length 40 f.—breadth 24.
 9. Slater House with other Houses of Office in length 84 f.
 10. The Abbots Hall standing alone Southward from the fraterie Abbat Johns Hall in length 46 in breadth 34.
 11. The Leaded lodging or Mr. Dyer[s] lodging in length 45 f. in bredth 26 f.
 12. The parler underneath Mr. . . . lodging.
- The great Hall part of ye Mansyon house where A. lived.

13. The kylln house with the furnese House in length 76—Breadth 32 f.
14. Mr. Belsyres Stable in length 40 f.—in bredth 16 f.
15. The loft over the Schole 50 f. in length 24 in breadth.
16. The Scole Masters Chamber 24 in length 16 in breadth.
The Outer Gate House otherwise called the great Gatehouse at the entreing of the
Grange.
The Middle Gatehouse.
17. The Schole House.
18. Mr. Haynes lodging.
19. The great Hall—in length 59 f. in breadth 33 f.
20. The Yatehouse without steyes—in length 38 in breadth 28.
21. The little chamber near the same.
22. The porters lodge.
23. The great barn in length 88 in bredth 28.

Printed in H. Hurst's *Oxford Topography*.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER III

Here is given the artist's own key to the many buildings represented in the drawing given on Plate IV.



1. S. Giles' Church.
2. Bawley Abbey (Osterians).
3. Beaumont Palace.
4. Carmelite Church.
5. Gloucester College (Worcester).
6. S. Bernard's College (S. John's).
7. Holy Cross Church.
8. Augustinians (Wadhams).
9. S. Mary Magdalene's Church.
10. Durham College (Trinity).
11. Castle.
12. S. George's Collegiate Church.
13. S. George's College.
14. S. Michael's, North Gate.
15. Our Lady's Chapel, Smithgate.
16. New College.

17. S. Peter-le-Bailey Church.
18. S. Martin's Church (Catfax).
19. S. Peter-in-the-East Church.
20. All Saints' Church.
21. S. Mary's Church.
22. All Souls' College.
23. S. Ebbes's N. Franciscan Monastery.
24. Merton College.
25. S. Aldate's Church.
26. S. Frideswide's (Christ Church).
27. S. Michael's, South Gate.
28. Magdalen College.
29. Magdalen Bridge.
30. S. Clement's Church.
31. Milham Causeway and Bridge.
32. South Gate and Tower Hill.

33. Blackfriars (Dominicans).
34. Grandpont.
35. Prior's Pool.
36. Hill Mill Stream.
37. West Gate.
38. Osney Abbey Church.
39. Osney's N. Gate.
40. The Great Gate.
41. The Great Cloister.
42. The South Cloister.
43. Refectory.
44. Infirmary Cloister.
45. Infirmary and Chapel.
46. Lay Brothers' Dormitory (?).
47. Men's Guest House (?).
48. Women's Guest House.

49. Abbot's Palace and Guest Hall.
50. Great Kitchen.
51. The Mill.
52. The 'Kyll' (Malthouse).
53. The 'Canon's Building'.
54. The Bakehouse.
55. Tannery.
56. Gardens.
57. Fish Ponds (?).
58. Dove-cots (?).
59. Mill-stream.
60. S. Thomas' (S. Nicolas).
61. The Hamel.
62. Rawley Gate.
63. King's Mead.
64. South Osney Isle.

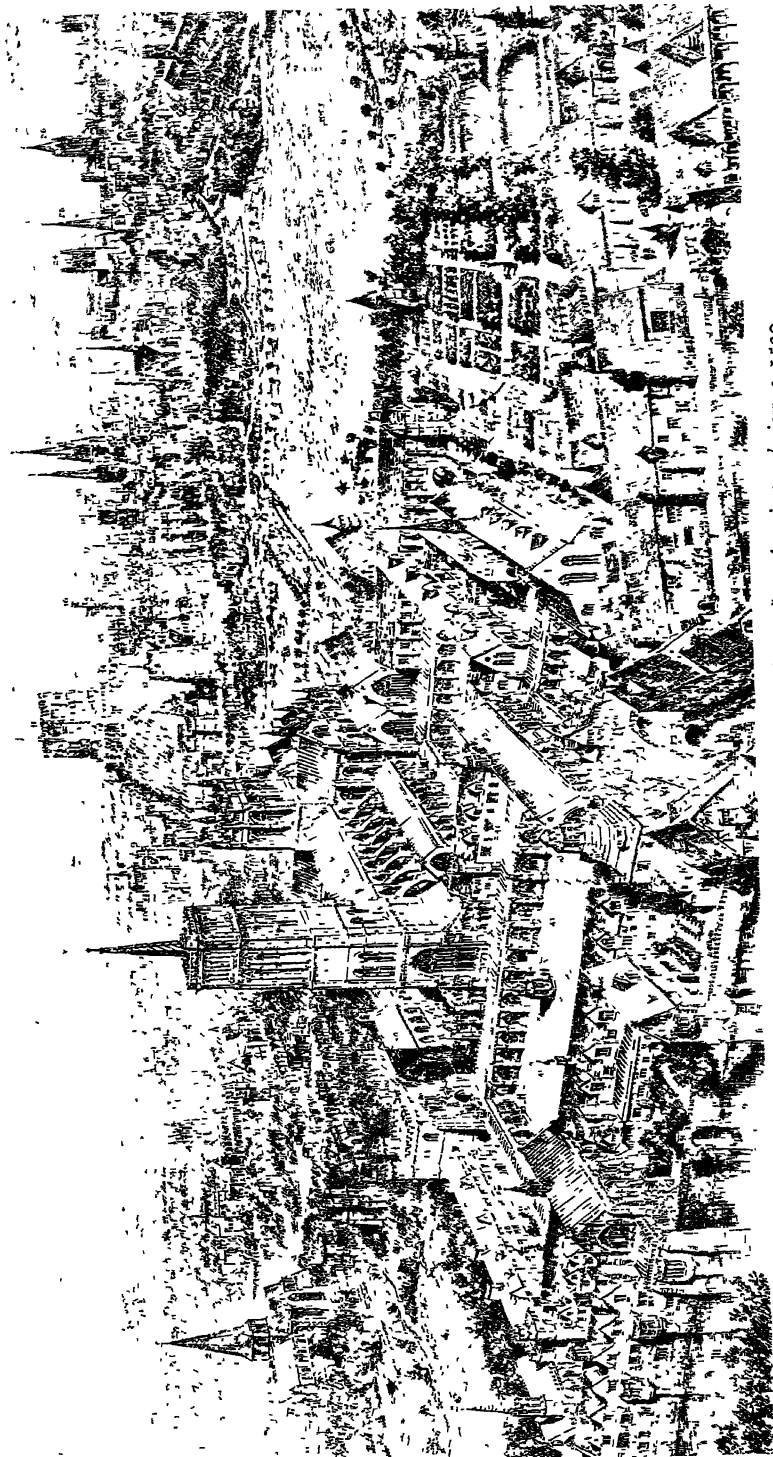
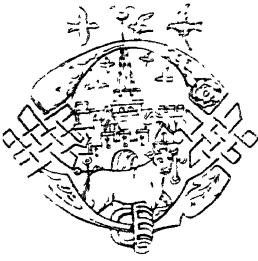


Plate LV—Oseney Abbey (and other buildings in background). A conjectural view, c. 1520.

From a drawing by H. W. Brewer. Printed in 'The Builder,' January 3, 1891.

'It is quite impossible without very careful study of ancient records, documents, drawings, and the scanty fragments which remain of mediæval buildings when looking at these districts [chiefly S. Thomas'] as they are to-day, to realize their past glories. Where we now find ugly railway stations, dingy goods-sheds, grimy coal depots, shabby rows of workmen's houses, gasworks, and all that squalid ugliness with which modern civilization surrounds a large town in its least fashionable suburbs, were formerly abbeys, monasteries, churches, colleges, and halls which were equal, if not superior, to anything existing in the best parts of Oxford at the present day. . . . In looking at our view, a vast structure, or series of structures, occupies the principal part of the foreground. This represents Oseney Abbey as it appeared about the year 1520' (H. W. Brewer).



LF I—Oseney Abbey,
Central Spire.



Plate LVII—Oseney Abbey, 1574.

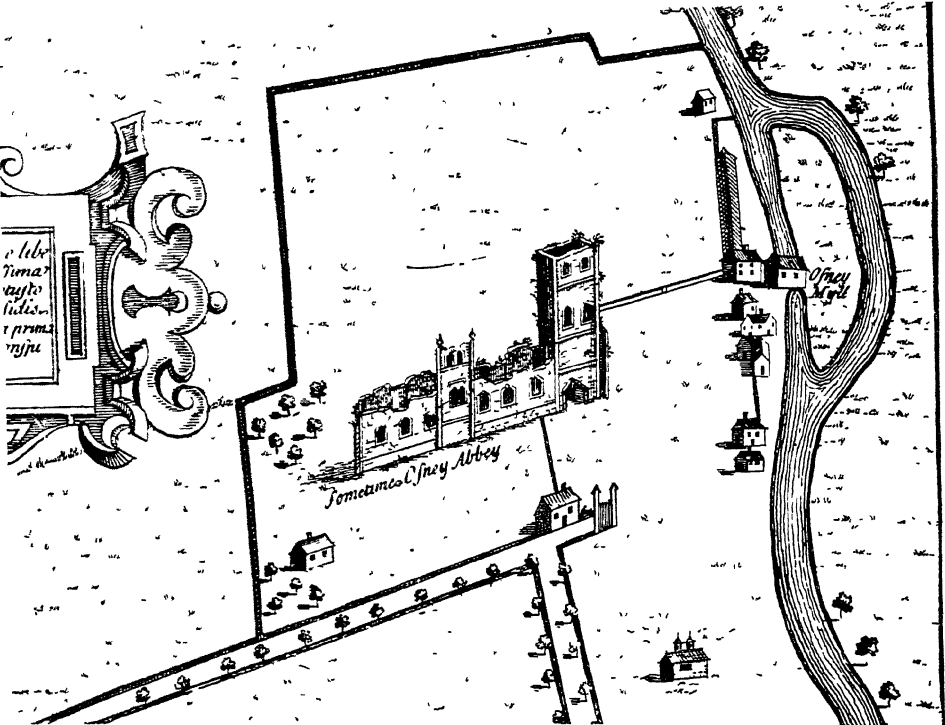


Plate LVIII—Oseney Abbey, 1578.

PLATE

LVI. *Printed in Skelton's 'Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata,' 1823.*

This is an interesting sketch, though small, as it offers some idea of the spire on the central tower of what used to be called 'the sumptuous building of Oseney Abbey.' It is taken from an Oseney Rental, bearing dates of 1453 to 1479, which in the eighteenth century was preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, but seemingly no longer exists.

LVII. *From a photograph of a drawing in the Exeter College Benefactors' Book. Photograph in the Bodleian Library.*

The view is from the north-east, showing both towers. It is supposed to represent the building four years before Agas' map, but as the drawing was made in 1721 it can only have been a copy of some other drawing.

LVIII. *A detail of the first map of Oxford, by Ralph Agas, 1578 (north at base).*

In this detail it will be seen that the two towers and the walls of both nave and choir were then existing. The great gate is also shown opposite the western tower to the north, and the latter has a large doorway which communicated with the porch. The site of the great court is indicated to the west of the church (*vide* H. W. Brewer).

•

PLATE

LIX. *From a photograph of the stained-glass window in Christ Church Cathedral.*

‘The window was erected in 1551, and shows a portion of the ruins of the church, consisting of the central tower, with the weatherings marked upon it of the nave and transept, and a series of lofty pointed arches, evidently intended to represent the nave-arcade. From this we are able to see that the latter was semi-Norman, that the church had been greatly heightened at a later period, probably by Abbot Leech, who rebuilt a large portion of the church and monastery about the year 1247. The portion of the tower which after this alteration was visible over the roof, had two large windows in each face, and little ones, almost loops, above them. Buttresses run up at the angles showing that there were pinnacles’ (H. W. Brewer).

‘In 1651, when the window was in danger of being broken up, a certain member of the Bishop’s family took it out bodily and stored it away safely until later times should come. On the return of Charles II the window likewise came back’ (S. A. Warner, *Oxford Cathedral*).

LX. *From a drawing by John Fisher, in the Bodleian Library.*

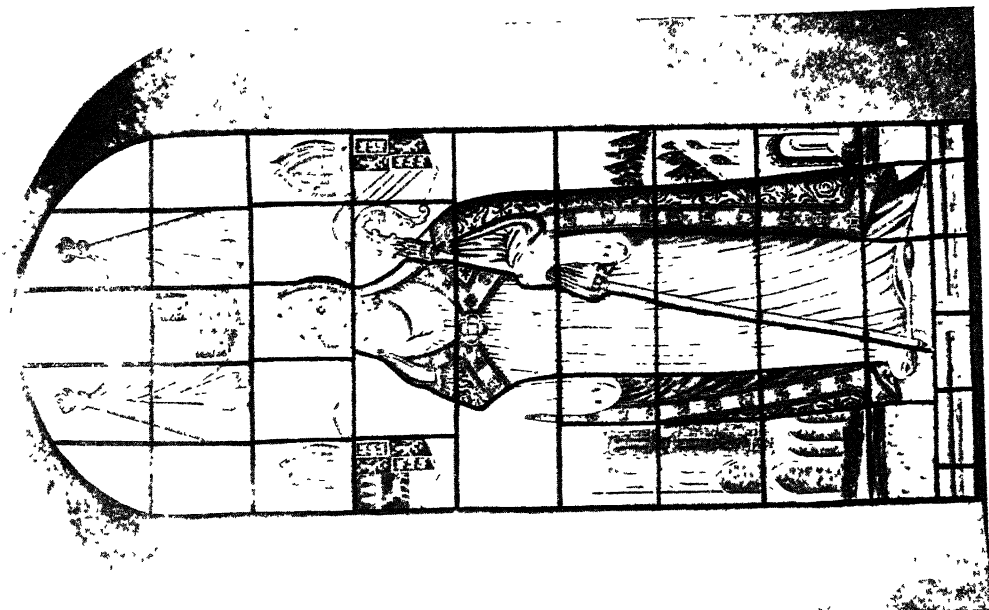


Plate LIX—The Last Abbot of Oseney.

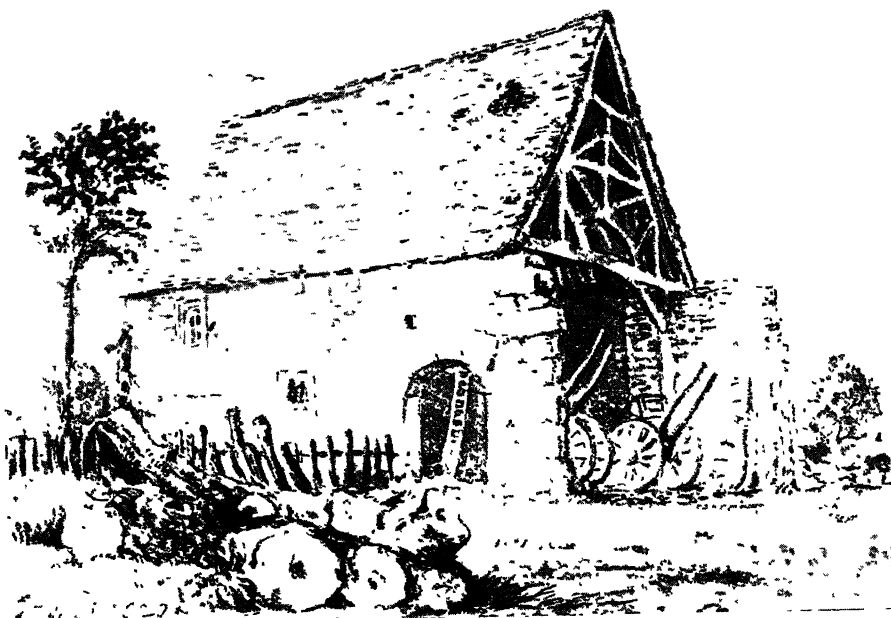


Plate LX—Oseney Abbey. Remains, 1820.

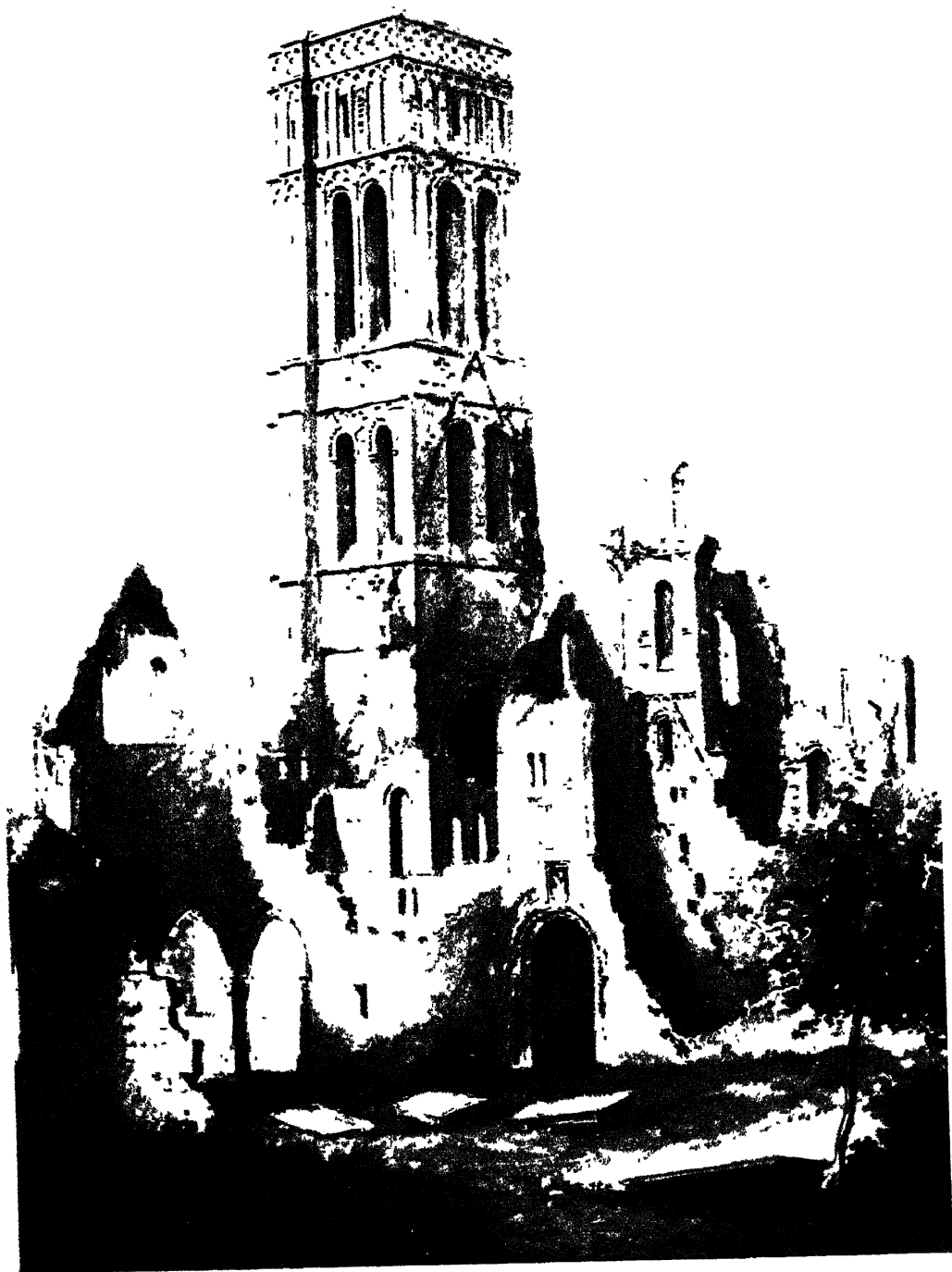


Plate LXI—Oseney Abbey. Ruins, c. 1640.

PLATE

LXI. *After the drawing by Hesketh, in the Bodleian Library.*

Mr. H. W. Brewer says this drawing is 'a very reliable and valuable representation of the great abbey, as it appeared just immediately before the entire destruction of the ruins of the church, in 1644, by Charles I to complete the fortifications of Oxford against Cromwellians. This engraving shows the ruins from the south-east; the great west tower of the church is complete. The upper story was evidently Perpendicular work, and is covered with panelling, the whole crowned with an open parapet. The tower lights are very long and narrow. As in the centre tower, the evidence of a lofty clearstory having been added at later times is very distinct. The lean-to end of the inner south aisle is shown attached to the west end of the tower, and near it a plain gable, which must have formed the west end of the outer aisle. Part of the wall of this aisle is shown with what looks like the remains of a Norman triforium. The west side and gable end of the south transept were pierced by very long Decorated and Perpendicular windows; attached to the south end of the transept is a large chapel or sacristy with a doorway which seems to have communicated with a vestibule of the chapter-house. At the angle of the nave and transept the remains of the Norman triforium are visible; to the south of the site of the chapter-house is shown a lofty Early English gable pierced with a triple lancet window very high up, and a crypt beneath this was probably the school house' (*The Builder*, Jan. 3, 1891).

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PLATE

LXII. *From a photograph of the original in the Public Record Office, London.*

The actual Deed of Surrender is still preserved in the Public Record Office, London. It is written in Latin, dated November 17, 1539, and signed by 'Robartus Kynge' the Abbot, and others—presumably the twelve canons then at Oseney, including Sir George Waram 'the great parson' of S. Thomas', as mentioned in the document printed on p. 6.

A translation of the Deed of Surrender is given on back of next page.

LXIII. *From a private photograph.*

Represents practically all (except a building with a good timber roof of the fifteenth century) that visibly remains to-day of the great abbey.

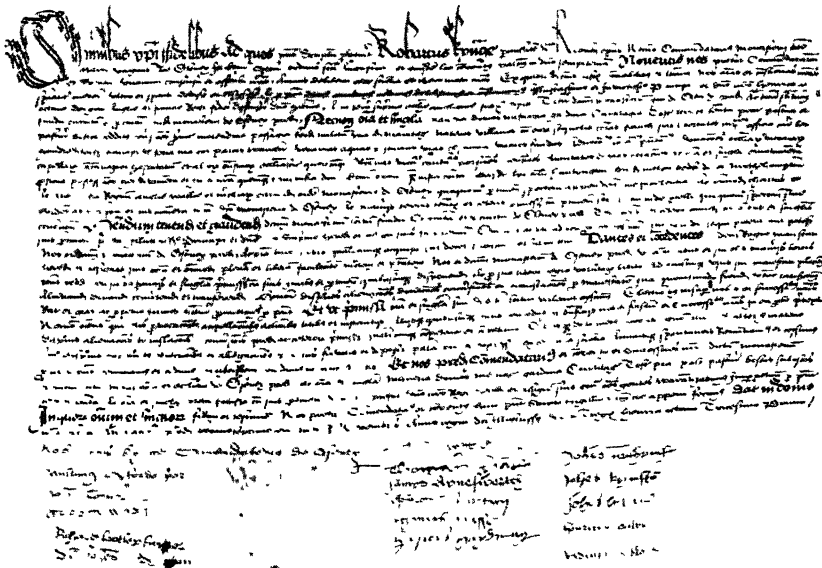


Plate LXII—The Deed of Surrender of Oseney Abbey.



Plate LXIII—Oseney Abbey Remains, 1927.

[Translation.]

COPY OF THE SURRENDER OF OSENEY ABBEY, 17 NOV., 31 HEN VIII, 1539

Original in the Augmentation Office

To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Robert Kynge by divine permission Bishop of Recon, also beneficiary of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Oseney in the County of Oxford, of the order of S. Augustine and of the convent of the same place, eternal health in the Lord. Be it known unto you that we have given and conceded the aforesaid benefice and convent by the unanimous consent and assent of our minds after deliberation and certain knowledge and of our own freewill in consequence of certain just reasonable and legitimate causes being specially moved in our minds and conscience and of our own freewill and by these presents we give, concede, render, and confirm to the most illustrious and unconquered our prince and lord, Henry VIII by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland and Supreme Head on Earth or the Church of England under Christ, the whole of the same monastery of Oseney aforesaid and all the extent of the fabric, the properties adjoining and around the same monastery of Oseney aforesaid, also all and single manors, houses, messuages, gardens, closes, crofts, lands and tenements, fields, meadows, pastures, woods, incomes, reversions, services, molinage passages, feudal dues, wardmotes, merchets, serfs, villains with their issue, common franchises, liberties, jurisdictions, functions of the Court leet and hundred namely franchpledge, fairs, markets, parks, warrens, coverts, fishponds, roads, hearth dues, unoccupied premises, advowsons, nominations, presentations and donatives of churches, vicarages, chapels, precentorships and hospitals and all other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever. We give and submit rectories, vicarages, precentorships, portions, pensions, annuities, tithes, oblations and all singular emoluments, profits, possessions, hereditaments and all our rights whatsoever, as much within the said County of Oxford as within the Counties of Berks, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Bedford, Northampton, and elsewhere within the kingdom of England, Wales, and the marches of the same to the same monastery of Oseney howsoever belonging, pertaining, or attached thereto, whether incumbency and charters and written evidence of whatsoever kind and our muniments for the said monastery of Oseney and the manors, lands, tenements, and the other things aforesaid with their appurtenances and the parks in whatsoever manor they belong or pertain, the said monastery to be had held and enjoyed namely the extent of the fabric, the properties around and adjoining the said monastery of Oseney, lands, tenements and the other things aforesaid with all and single belonging thereto by the aforesaid most illustrious prince and our supreme lord, his heirs and assigns in perpetuity to whom for all the issue of lawsuits which in future shall be obtained or can be obtained. We and the same monastery of Oseney aforesaid and all the rights howsoever acquired grant and submit as is fitting giving and conceding to the same royal majesty and his heirs and assigns all and entire full and free privilege authority and power. We and the said monastery of Oseney aforesaid together with all and singular manors, lands, tenements, incomes, reversions, services, and each of the aforesaid with its rights and belongings to be disposed in whatsoever way by his free, royal will to whatsoever use shall please his majesty, to be alienated, given, and transferred by any manner of dispositions, alienations, gifts, conversions, and transferences by his majesty to be made in any manner, in whatsoever way the alienations are done we promise freely by these presents that they shall be held firmly and that all and singular aforesaid shall be valid as making them due to him and all for us as for our successors with regard to all disputes, questions, appeals, actions, law-suits, and challenges whatsoever, remedies of law and gifts by us and perchance our successors upon any pretext of dispositions, alienations, transferences, and conversions aforesaid and of the other aforesaid claims of any kind whatsoever and including all cases of fraud, error, ignorance of contents or dispositions, exceptions, objections, allegations, and also frivolous depositions. We openly, publicly, and expressly out of our certain knowledge and freewill renounce and yield up as by these presents we renounce and yield up and depart from them in these letters. And we the aforesaid beneficiary and the convent and our successors the said monastery, surroundings, and defined dwelling house and church of Oseney aforesaid and all and singular manors, houses, messuages, gardens, closes, crofts, fields, pastures, meadows, woods, thickets, lands, and tenements and all and singular aforesaid with all that pertains to them we guarantee to our lord the King, his heirs and assigns against all persons whatsoever for ever by these presents. In all and singular of which we the aforesaid beneficiary and convent pledge our faith and testimony by the present writing and cause our common seal to be fixed and given in our chapter house of the aforesaid monastery on the seventeenth day of the month of November in the thirty-first year of our most illustrious lord King Henry VIII.

ROBERT KYNGE, *Beneficiary of Oseney*
WILLIAM OXFORDE, *Prior*
JOHN TORNER.
GEORGE WARAM
RICHARD BOOTLEY, *Subprior*.
JOHN HEDGINGTON

ROBERT HOLYWELL, *Cellarer*
THOMAS HAWKES
JAMES AYNESWORTH.
GEORGE NORTON
THOMAS MASSE
HENRY MAYDMAY.

JOHN WITYHYNG
JOHN RYNSTON
JOHN HAME.
HENRY BAKER.
RADULPH BLORE.

[The Seal is missing.]

PLATE

LXIV. *From a drawing by Mr. H. Hurst, c. 1900.*

For some twenty-five years of his busy life the late Mr. Herbert Hurst spent considerable time and labour in tracing and examining any remains that were excavated by grave-diggers in the cemetery which occupies part of Osney site, and also in the building excavations at Osney Mill, and made careful records of their nature and the position where found. From his own observations of the 'foundations' work frequently revealed, and expert knowledge of Oxford topography generally, he was enabled to draw the plan shown here. He not only gives details of many actual archaeological discoveries, but he also indicates his considered opinion as to the actual site of the great abbey church. It is marked by rather faint dotted lines, and it will be noticed that the present cemetery chapel occupies precisely part of the site of the old church.

■

IV. THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF REWLEY

THE FOUNDATION AND EARLIEST YEARS

THE foundation of Rewley Abbey is associated with the family of Richard, King of the Romans and brother of Henry III, who died in 1272. He had desired to found a chantry for three secular priests to pray for his soul, but his son Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, apparently having greater confidence in the monastic clergy, offered to found a college for the Cistercians at Oxford. The General Chapter of the Order accepted the offer, stipulating that the college should have the same privileges as S. Bernard's College, Paris, and that it should be subject to the Abbot of Thame Abbey. By December 3, 1281, the building was ready for the dedication service, which was performed by Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Chancellor to Edward I. Meanwhile there had been an agreement between the Abbots of Oseney and Thame, that in consideration of an annual payment of 36s. 8d. the Abbey of Oseney should withdraw all objections which they legitimately made to the foundation of another monastery within the parish of S. Thomas'.

Evidently it was not intended at first to give the new building the status of an abbey, for in 1282 it was ordered by the Cistercian Chapter that the Abbot of Thame should be empowered to appoint an abbot of his own choice for the house of study at Oxford, and that there should be a daily memory of the late Earl of Cornwall at Mass. All the original members of Rewley were chosen from the monks of Thame Abbey.

The endowments included the site of the abbey and its surrounding ground, covering some sixteen acres ; other land and tenements of the founder at North Oseney ; the manor of Yarnton ; mills at Cassington ; two parks at Nettlebed ; some tenements in London ; and the advowson of the church of St. Wendron, Cornwall. Subsequently Edward the Black Prince gave them the advowson of St. Stithians Church, Cornwall. Before 1291 the abbey also had property at Chesterton, Oxon., doubtless given by the founder, who owned the manor.

In 1282 the chapter of the Cistercian Order gave the buildings the title of *Sancti Maria de regali loco*, the latter words being derived from its site ; *regali loco*, or *rois-leie*, denoting a king's place. Apparently Rewley is a corrupted form of *rois-leie*. In the year 1292 the Abbot of Cîteaux (the chief abbot of the Order) decreed that Cistercian houses in the Province of Canterbury should send students to the *studium Oxonia*, one from every monastery with twenty monks, and each student was to have an allowance of 60s. The number of monks at Rewley, at first fifteen, seems to have been sixteen in 1294. In 1299 the abbey had license from King Edward I to enclose sixteen acres belonging to them 'at North Oseney,' which evidently refers to the abbey site.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

It is uncertain how long Rewley Abbey continued as a place for students, but in 1300 there was a dispute as to the precedence of Rewley monks in University processions, and an entry in the Patent Rolls for 1315, recording some damage done at the abbey, mentions that the monks residing there are scholars. Probably Rewley was used by students right up to the time of the founding of S. Bernard's College (now S. John's) by Archbishop Chichele in 1437.

In 1324 there was some sort of doubt as to whether Rewley was an English or alien monastery, the Patent Rolls recording that Rewley is not subject to any religious house of France, and that all the monks there are English, except the abbot, Peter de Duvone.

The special features of the Cistercian Rule were that they abstained from flesh foods, their clothing was mainly of white woollen material (hence the name of White Monks), and they insisted, in their earlier days at least, on hard work for their members. In common with many other Cistercian houses, the history of Rewley is practically unknown as they were not subject to episcopal visitation, nor had the bishop of the diocese power to examine into the election of an abbot, so that no entries about Cistercian monasteries appear in the episcopal registers. This exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop was regarded as a privilege, as was the case of their lands in the county not being subject to local courts.

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

There were indications at Rewley, as at other monasteries, at the end of the fifteenth century of deterioration in culture, for in 1498 the Abbot of Rewley and the Abbot of Oseney were mutually bound over to keep the peace, and eventually the Abbot of Rewley was suspended from office.

The preparatory work of Henry VIII for the dissolution of the monasteries was felt at Rewley as early as 1532, when the abbot complained to Cromwell

of the insolence and oppression of the royal servants who had quartered themselves and their horses at the abbey. Apparently Abbot John Ryton, who was aged, did not long survive this intrusion, for in 1533 the new abbot, Nicolas Austen, was careful to inform Cromwell that the youngest Rewley monk had accused a brother of quoting words with a treasonable application to the king's divorce, and had laid information to the Mayor of Oxford. The abbot desired that the punishment of the parties might be committed to himself or to the Abbot of Tower Hill, as Visitor of the Order.

THE DISSOLUTION

In 1536 Abbot Austen offered Cromwell £100 to save the monastery, if only by converting it into a college, but the great spoliator would not agree, and the abbot retired to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, with a pension of £22 per annum. The net income of the abbey in 1535 was estimated at £174, and the record tends to show that but little had been acquired since the original endowments.

At the dissolution, it is said, there were twenty-one monks beside the abbot, and there then existed a corresponding number of elm-trees, forming an avenue between the outer and inner gates of the abbey.

As far as can be gathered from existing drawings of remnants or ruins, Rewley Abbey was not built on a scale at all comparable with Oseney. Cistercian buildings were generally distinctive for a refined simplicity in the main lines, with a sparing use of decorative detail. As to whether Rewley Abbey was an exception to the general rule, practically nothing is known.

THE SITE, AND SPOILIATION, OF THE BUILDINGS

The abbey buildings and ground occupied the piece of land now bounded approximately by the river on the north and east, by Hythe Bridge Street on the south, and the L.M.S.R. line on the west. The chief entrance was at the north-west corner of Hythe Bridge Street somewhere about the roadway leading to the L.M.S.R. coal wharf. After the dissolution the site and buildings appear to have been bestowed by Henry VIII on Dr. George Owen, Fellow of Merton, who for some reason did not long retain it, for the same year (1541) it came into the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, when Mr. Robert Parret, organist of Magdalen (who has the reputation of enriching himself by the spoil of religious houses), seems to have bought the buildings, for he sold much stone and timber to the proctors of our Lady's Chapel in S. Mary Magdalene's Church.

In the seventeenth century much of the abbey house and refectory was standing, although the carved work had been defaced by soldiers of the Civil War. A most interesting stone relic¹ dug up on the site of the abbey, for which

¹ See Plate Lxix.

Hearne, the antiquarian, paid half a crown in 1705, is still to be seen in the Ashmolean Museum. In the eighteenth century the ruins were used as a malthouse or brewery. Portions of the ruins existed as late as about 1850, when with the advent of the L.N.W.R. (now L.M.S.R.) all were swept away with the exception of a small Gothic gateway, now to be seen on the left from the canal path as approached from Hythe Bridge.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER IV

Although many drawings of Rewley remains are to be found to-day, all were made after the desecration of the site by turning it into malthouses or a brewery. Of the abbey church no representation whatsoever is known to exist.

PLATE

LXV. *Drawn and engraved by M. Burghers. Printed in T. Hearne's 'Textus Roffensis,'*
1720.

This view of the great outer gate shows that it had two arches, the large one of ogee type, adorned with carved escutcheons. An avenue of elms led from this to an inner gate.

LXVI. *From an engraving by M. Burghers. Printed in T. Hearne's 'Textus Roffensis,'* 1720.

This represents a view of the remains from the south, about where now is situated the L.M.S.R. coal-yard. These remains were cleared away at the building of the station in 1851. The heraldic arms are those of the founder.



Plate LXV—Rewley Abbey, the Great and Little Outer Gate, c. 1720.



Plate LXVI—Rewley Abbey, 1720.



Plate LXVII—Remains of Rewley Abbey, 1820.



Plate LXVIII—The Entrance Road to Rewley Abbey, 1851.

PLATE

LXVII. *From a drawing by J. Fisher, 1820. In the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

This represents a view of the remains from the north-east on the canal towpath.

LXVIII. *From a photograph of a water-colour drawing by W. Turner, 1851. By courtesy of Mr. H. Minn.*

It is conjectured to be the principal entrance way to Rewley Abbey. The site would be partly the present Rewley Road looking north. The small stream on the left continued southwards across the road to the west and along Hollybush Row. Notice the two bridges, canal and river, in the background on left.

PLATE

LXIX. *From a photograph of the original in the Ashmolean Museum by J. Soame.*

T. Hearne in his diary for 1705 on September 21st records: 'A stone dug up at Rewley in the ground, where the chappel of the Abbey formerly was. This stone I purchas'd of Mr. Cox who lives now in House wch is pt of the Abbey. . . . Tis the more valuable, because it discovers Ela Countess of Warwick to have founded the chapell She died in the year 1300, and so I suppose founded the chapell much about the same time that the Abbey was built by Edm. Earl of Cornwall, wch was A.D. 1281.'

The inscription, in Latin, is to the following intent: 'Ela Longspee, Countess of Warwick, made this chapel, whose reward be Christ in glory. Amen.' The lettering and abbreviations are unique, and it is thought that the second part of the inscription was added by another carver probably after the death of the commemorated Ela.

Among the benefactors of Rewley Abbey was Ela, daughter of William Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, and wife of the Earl of Warwick.

LXX. *From a photograph by J. Soame, 1912.*

This gateway exists to-day and may be seen on the west side of the stream at the very end of Upper Fisher Row. At one time there were in Oxford three old doorways intact with the original thirteenth-century ironwork—Merton College Hall, S. Thomas' Church (priest's door), and Rewley water-gate. The ironwork on the Rewley door has been missing for many years, but some part is shown on an engraving of 1837.

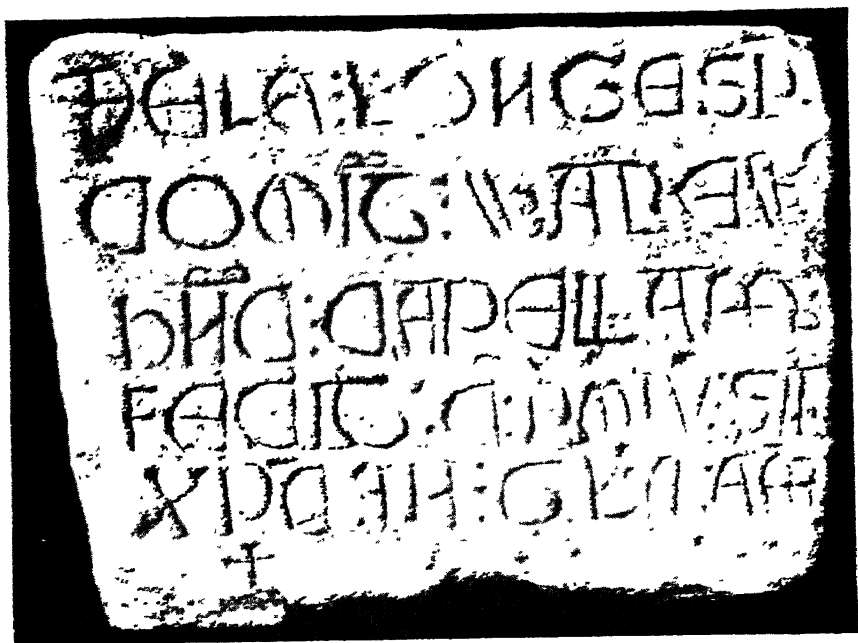


Plate LXIX—Foundation Stone found at Rewley Abbey site.

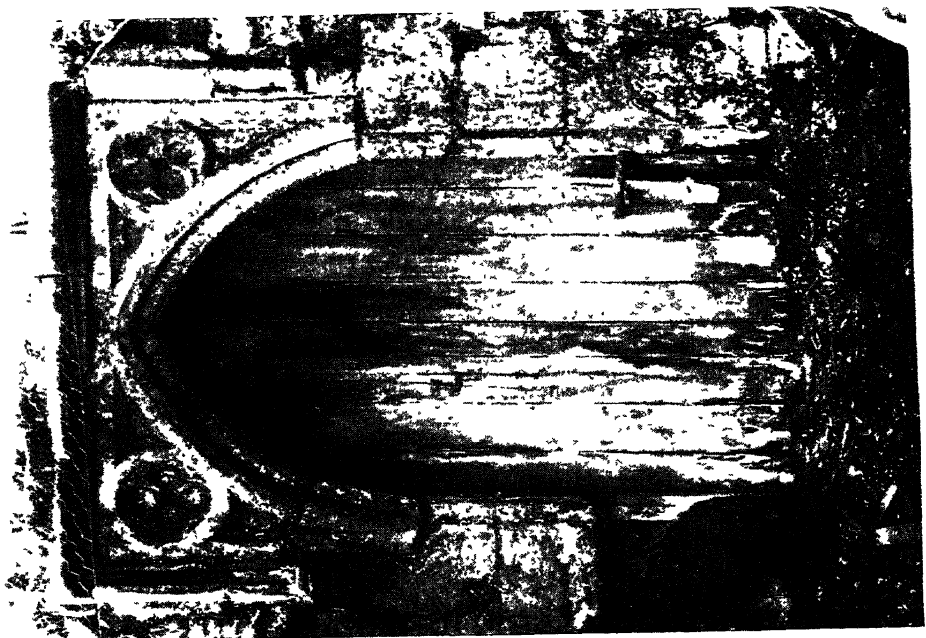


Plate LXX—The Water-Gateway, Rewley Abbey, 1912.

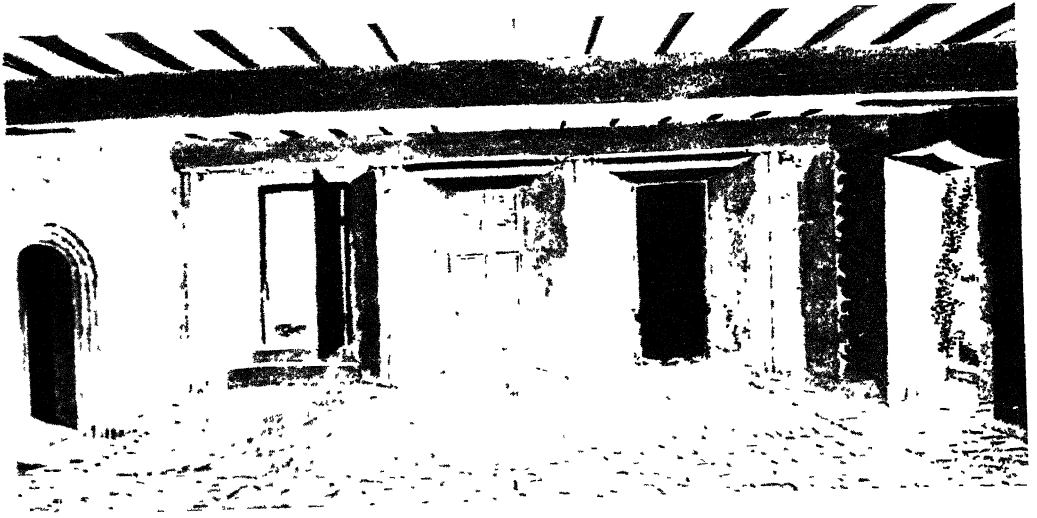


Plate LXXI—Room in north-west angle of Rewley Abbey, 1850.

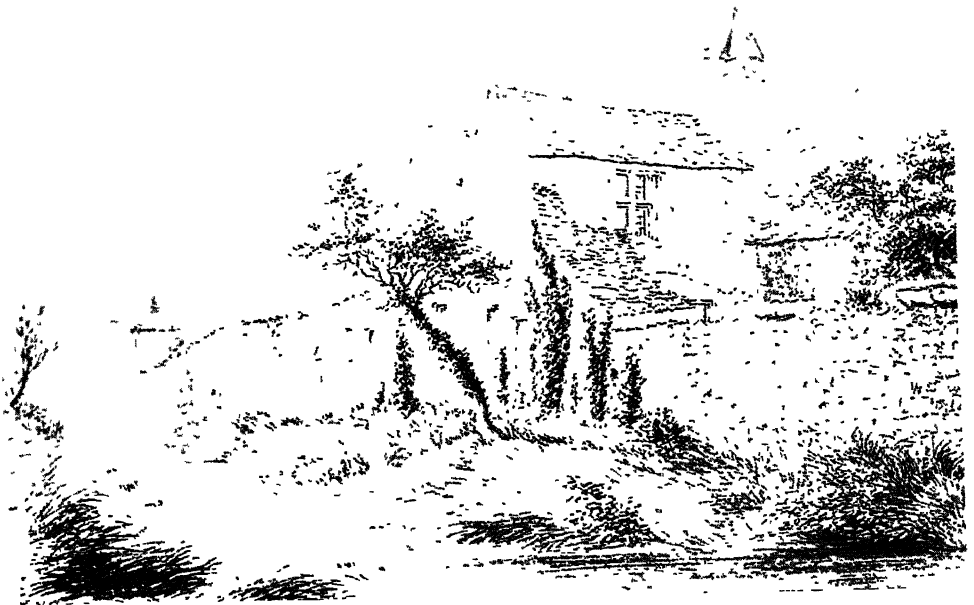


Plate LXXII—Rewley Abbey : north and part of the west front, 1851.

PLATE

LXXI. *From a drawing by W. Turner in the Morrell Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

This sketch of a large room, and the more general view given in the next Plate, serve to indicate that considerable remains were extant right up to the time when the site was purchased by the L.N.W.R. Company.

LXXII. *From a drawing by W. Turner in the Morrell Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

V. THE PARISH OF S. THOMAS THE MARTYR

THE OLDER THOROUGHFARES AND OTHER MAIN FEATURES

BOTLEY ROAD

BEFORE the present Botley Road with the stone-built bridges was constructed, under an Act of Parliament in 1766, it was only a packway or causeway across the meadows, over which traffic was carried mainly by horses equipped with panniers.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the neighbourhood of Oxford was infested by footpads and highwaymen, and Botley Road was deemed the most dangerous place. In 1776 robberies were so frequent that Oxford citizens formed themselves into a vigilance committee to prevent such depredations.

A man named Isaac Dumas (or Darking), reckoned as a prince of highwaymen, was executed at Oxford Castle on March 23, 1761, after a most adventurous life, although he was only twenty-one at the time of his death. On the gallows he threw himself off without troubling the executioner. Another striking event followed : Dumas having said that he feared—not death—but the thought of being anatomized after his execution, a large body of bargemen surrounded the scaffold and carried off the body in triumph to S. Thomas' Parish Church, and while some rang the bells, others buried the body.¹

There was a turnpike gate at the 'Old Gate House' Inn until 1868.²

THE CANAL

The Oxford Canal forms an important feature of the parish, for the terminus of the stream and the wharves lie mostly within the parochial boundary. The site was formerly part of the castle grounds and moat.³

The canal was commenced in 1754, and finished about 1790. It extends to the Coventry Canal at Longford, a distance of some ninety miles, where it connects with other canals, and thus opens up communications with the Midlands and the colliery districts. At one time, before the completion of the canal,

¹ 'March 23, 1761. Mr. Darking alias Dumas, etc., was hanged this morning about a quarter before eight, and after he was cut down he was carried by the Bargemen to S. Thomas' Church to be buried. All the College gates was shut from ten o'clock last night till nine this morning by an Order of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors' (*The Diary of a Country Parson: the Reverend James Woodforde*. Ed. by John Beresford).

² See Plates lxxxiv and lxxxv

³ See Plate c.

the £100 shares went down to £48, but later, in more prosperous days of the undertaking, the same shares are said to have stood as high as £558 in value. The introduction of railways into the district traversed naturally diminished the popularity and prosperity of the canal here, as elsewhere; yet a large number of barges are still working, and occasionally the canal near Hythe Bridge and the adjoining wharves present quite a busy scene.

About 1838 the canal boatmen were provided with a 'floating chapel,' and later with a more substantial building for the purposes of worship and instruction in religious matters.¹

THE CASTLE MILL²

The mill mentioned in the Domesday Survey of 1086 has been identified by topographers as the castle mill. It was then held by Earl Alfgar, who had been a subject of King Edward the Confessor. It was described as being 'within the city,' implying that its site was within the walls, which before the castle tower was built evidently reached westward as far as the mill.

After the Norman Conquest the mill seems to have been confiscated by the King, and eventually was held by Robert D'Oyley, the Norman lord. In 1129 when Oseney was founded he granted to the monastery tithes of the castle mill.

In King Stephen's reign the possession of the mills (for apparently there were more than one) was acquired by William Cheyney, an Alderman and subsequently Mayor of Oxford,³ who, it is said, redeemed the Oseney tithes by becoming a benefactor to the abbey.

In King John's time (1199) a moiety of the mills was obtained by the city, the other moiety being held by various persons in succession.

In 1230 Henry III appointed Godfrey de Crancombe to be keeper of the castle, and granted to him therewith his mede and mill adjoining.

An inquisition in the time of Edward I, with regard to a request by the Abbot of Rewley, records that one moiety of the mill was held by the Queen Mother, and the other half by the burgesses of the city.

In the reign of Edward III one moiety was let to Richard Forster, who for £20 per year had also half the fishing of 'Weyre' stream and a mede near Oseney, called King's Mede. This moiety was granted by Richard II to Oseney, who continued to hold it until the abbey was dissolved in 1539. It was then transferred to the revenues of the new bishopric of Oxford, whence it was demised in 1548 to George Owen of Godstow. In 1557 the bishop made an effort to recover this moiety, but as he died soon after it is said the negotiations were abandoned. Yet it is recorded in the minutes of the Council :

'1557. Att a Counsaill holden the xij day of Aprell yn the yeres above said, it is condyscended and agreed by the Mayre and Counsaill of the Citie that my lorde the Busshop

¹ See p. 24 and Plate xci.

² See also p. 161 and Plates lxxxvii and lxxxviii

³ The official City List says in 1136 or 1139.

of Oxforde shall enter into his moyte of the Castell mylles immediatly payeng vij' done and the one half of the charges for the implements yn the myll, or putyng yn suffycient suirty for the payment of the same, to be payd w'in xiiij dayes after Ester.' ¹

In Queen Elizabeth's reign (1591) this moiety was acquired by the city authorities for £566; since that time the city has been exclusive owners.

In 1534 the City Council ordered that all grain, 'whete, rye, mascelyn, benes, and pesen,' is to be brought to the King's Castle Mills to be ground. This regulation applied to all burgesses and all tenants of city property, and until 1763 the city authorities retained the mill in their own hands, and made large profits each year. In the course of the eighteenth century it was probably found difficult to enforce the regulations of 1534, and the value of the mill declined.

In mediaeval days the mill was the subject of considerable strife between the city and Oseneay. In the seventeenth century there is a record of litigation between the city, the parish, and the miller:

In October, 1685, 'was the bridge at the Castle Mill tayle repaired at the charge of the City after it had laid ruinous neare an yere. The parishioners of S. Thomas they refused to repair it and alleged that it was to be done by the miller: the miller alledged it was to be done by the parish. Whereupon a hearing of the matter being made at the assize in July, 1685, it was adjudged to be done by the City.' ²

FISHER ROW

Warham (or Weyre Ham) ³ Bank was the name anciently given to the strip of land which lies between the two streams now known as the Fisher Row stream and the stream running nearly parallel to it on the west and flowing under Bookbinders' Bridge. The 'bank,' which is really two little narrow islands, extends northward to the end of Upper Fisher Row, and southward to the castle mill bridge.

So much has the ground been raised round about Fisher Row ⁴ that it is very difficult to realize that this was once a bank of earth thrown up more than a thousand years ago to make a head of water for the castle mill.

In the time of King James I it seems to have been called Fish Row, from, it is said, a resident there of the name of Fish.

Anthony Wood, in his diary, records that on October 15, 1686:

'Jacob Allestreay, M.A., student of Christ Church, died in the house of a nurse named Gadbury (wife of a sawyer) living in Fish Rew in S. Thomas' parish, aged thirty, and was buried the next day at night in S. Thomas' churchyard about eight of the clock, carried by four poore men, without cloth to cover his hearse. He had lain seven weeks in the house sick of a horrid disease of which he died.' ⁵

¹ Turner, *Records of the City of Oxford*, 1509-83.

² Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. iii, p. 169.

³ One of the courts in High Street is still known as 'Wareham' Yard.

⁴ See also Plates xcii-xcvi.

⁵ Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. iii, p. 198.

In the Oxford Survey of 1772 the angle of Hythe Bridge Street joining with Upper Fisher Row is designated 'Thieving Corner.'

At the south end of Fisher Row two of the larger houses were known, until comparatively recent times, as Tawney's Almshouses. These were built by Edward Tawney, Esq., at the end of the eighteenth century and endowed for the benefit of three poor men and three poor women.

Abel Beesley. A famous champion punter.

S. Thomas' may take legitimate pride in claiming among its past parishioners, as an inhabitant of the Fisher Row, a famous 'Champion Punter of England' in the person of the late Mr. Abel Beesley, who held that distinctive title for over thirteen years. (See Plate cxix.)

He first challenged for the title in 1877. Great interest was taken in the event not only in Oxford, where 'Abel'—for so was he familiarly known by hosts of friends, rich and poor—did his training, but also in the professional rowing world. He was then practically unknown outside Oxford, but in the race punted in great style and won easily, thus setting the seal to his fame as the foremost professional punting expert. He held the championship until 1890, when he retired still unbeaten. The cause of his retirement was due to the fact, that so long as 'Abel' was in the field very few competitors would oppose him. The entries were gradually dwindling when, at Lord Desborough's suggestion, a testimonial was got up for the holder, who then retired, and the next year the entries increased considerably. He also won the open punting championships at Sunbury and Twickenham Regattas, and as a punter was in a class by himself, and it is doubtful if there will ever be his equal. Many feats have been recorded of his strength and skill as a punter, and on one occasion, at Maidenhead, a match was arranged in which the champion had a billiard cue as a pole, and sat instead of standing in the boat. His opponent was equipped with a proper pole and stood in the usual position, but lost the match and the accompanying wager. In 1910 great interest was taken in his match with a steam launch, holding five passengers. On this occasion 'Abel' used a two-foot wide boat, with dry wells, and punted from the Meadow side, the course being on the upper river between Medley and Godstow, half a mile in length. Quickly establishing a strong lead, he was an apparent winner from the outset. The launch, even with full steam up, never seemed to have a chance. The official verdict for the winner was a length of 110 yards, the time registered being 4 min. 12 sec.

Amongst notable punters whom he trained for the Amateur Punting Championships was the present Lord Desborough (then Mr. W. H. Grenfell), and it is said that many were the fine tussles these two had in their trials. Lord Desborough became one of the finest punters who ever handled a pole, being Amateur Punting Champion himself.

When Mr. Beesley died he was holding the position of Chief Officer of the Oxford University Humane Society, in whose service he had been a waterman for forty-seven years.

THE HAMEL

The Hamel¹ is a very old thoroughfare (for it has been known as such for upwards of seven centuries) formerly leading from High Street to Osney Abbey. In the flourishing days of the abbey it may be that round about the Hamel were the tenements of many of the craftsmen employed by the monks. In the Hamel was the wayside cross² where, from December 25th to January 6th during the thirteenth century, and perhaps later, the students of S. George's, when escorting their warden in procession from Osney Abbey to his quarters in the castle,³ commenced their singing.⁴

Formerly there was a narrow stream dividing the Hamel from Osney Lane, over which was a bridge, called in some old parish accounts 'Hamill' or 'Amill' Bridge. This stream is plainly shown along Osney Lane in seventeenth and eighteenth-century maps, and in a modified state was remembered by the older inhabitants of twenty-five years back. The derivation of the word 'Hamel' seems uncertain.

John Dennis Haycroft. Scout at Oriel to Dr. Newman

In the Hamel there lived for many years John D. Haycroft,⁵ who had personal associations with the Oxford Movement in its early days which were unique, as will be seen from the following notice which was printed soon after his death in April, 1912 :

'The church of S. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, has many associations with the early years of the Tractarian Movement. Notably the revival of Eucharistic vestments, so long ago as 1854, but in the recent death of John Dennis Haycroft, the parish has lost probably its last living link with those historic days.

'Haycroft as a youth was employed at Oriel College, and eventually became scout or personal servant to the late Cardinal Newman, as a Fellow of Oriel, both in college, and when he resided outside for a time at a house in S. Aldate's. He served him thus for some seven years previous to Dr. Newman's retirement to Littlemore, and retained vivid personal recollections of Dr. Newman and many of his visitors, like Dr. Pusey, John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, Isaac Williams, W. G. Ward, and others, "all of our sort," as our old friend used to describe them. He also liked to recall that one of his duties was to deliver MS. and proofs of the *Tracts for the Times* to the printers, and remembered that after the publication of Tract XC there was an important conference of Dr. Newman and his friends, and that his master was considerably agitated.

¹ See Plates ciii and civ.

² Anthony Wood's note says, 'In the midst of it stands a crosse.' The position is shown in Loggan's Map, 1675. See Plate lxxv.

³ 'They were to begin a psalme or hymne and soe sing before him to the College in the Castle, even up to his chamber doore and there with all reverence commend him to God and his quiet rest' (Wood, *City of Oxford*, vol. i, p. 318).

⁴ See also p. 64.

⁵ See Plate cxvii.

'Haycroft used to say that Dr. Newman was of a cheery disposition, but somewhat particular in having things done punctually at the minute ordered. In those days, according to Haycroft's account, Dr. Newman often rose as early as 4 a.m., but hot water was not required before 7 a.m. At 8 a.m. he went to S. Mary's, then breakfast, followed by a visit to the common-room, then work again until luncheon, which his servant often prepared early and placed in the window-sill, ready for use when required, Dr. Newman then helping himself. The afternoon was generally devoted to walking, and at one period Dr. Newman went daily to Rose Hill, to visit his mother and sister. Tea was often made by Dr. Newman himself in his room about 5 p.m. Dinner and common-room would occupy the early hours of the evening, after which there would be more writing. If papers and proofs were ready by 11 p.m. Haycroft would see to their despatch, but if it was much later before they were finished, Dr. Newman would go out again himself.

'Amid all his work and study it is interesting to know that Dr. Newman found time to set simple papers on religious subjects—chiefly Old Testament—for young Haycroft to work out, and they were afterwards corrected by Dr. Newman. As an instance of Dr. Newman's humour may be mentioned a story of Haycroft's, how at a certain election the excitement of the polling-booth was so fascinating that he stayed there longer than he should, for when he returned to Oriel he was astonished to find Dr. Newman and a guest quietly waiting their overdue meal. The servant expressed his apologies, and then his master having questioned him on several points, turned to the guest, saying, with a twinkle in his eye, "Quite right, he has told the truth : I saw him the whole time." It appeared that Dr. Newman, unknown to Haycroft, had also gone to the polling-booth to record his vote, and had quietly caught sight of his servant enjoying the fun.

'Haycroft could also relate other stories of pre-railway days, when 'Varsity men came up by coach.¹ And he was one of the few remaining parishioners who could testify to the very rough times experienced by the late Canon Chamberlain fifty to sixty years back at S. Thomas'.

'His reminiscences of 'Varsity and parish life in past times used to give much pleasure to the successive priests who have ministered at S. Thomas' in later years.

'Of a very simple but fervent faith, a regular and devout communicant, he was beautifully characteristic of the old Tractarian times with regard to ceremonial. He always appreciated attendance at the choral Eucharist, and was very definite in other ways—for instance, notwithstanding his great age, ninety last December, he insisted almost to the last upon fasting before Communion at eight o'clock, rather than communicate with other infirm or aged persons at a late Celebration. Another point about which he was particular in more recent days, when he could not get out to church, was that the little altar for his sick Communion was arranged carefully for the eastward position of the celebrant.'²

HIGH STREET 3

It does not seem to be known for how long this thoroughfare has been called High Street, as the earliest maps of Oxford leave it unnamed, while some later maps designate it S. Thomas' Street or S. Thomas' Parish.

¹ Before the railways changed the face of England, Oxford had seventy-three coaches and mails entering or leaving the city every twenty-four hours.

² *Church Times*, April 26, 1912.

³ See Plates ci, cv, and cvi.

There are records of several important houses in this ancient 'way to Oseney': S. Katharine's House stood at the south-east corner, extending westward to Bookbinders' Bridge.

'John Howell by his will dated May 10, 1557, left his house in S. Thomas', "commonly called S. Katharine's House," for the sustentation of the four poor beadsmen commonly called the Trinity men. We are much in the dark about these beadsmen. In 1298 and 1484 we have notice of "the bedeman" of the town, as though there was only one, and there is no mention of Trinity men in earlier records; nor do we know why the house was called S. Katharine's House. Anthony Wood suggests that the fraternity of S. Katharine, mentioned in a will of 1430, lived in this house and was identical with the Trinity men; if this is so we must assume that the fraternity was reduced to such poverty that their house was sold and subsequently returned by John Howell for the benefit of the fraternity.'¹

In a lease of the house dated 1636 it is described as 'bounded by the river running under Bookbinders' Bridge, W.; the high road and the river running to the Castle Mills, E.; with the fishing in Warham water behind the tenement.' In several leases for this house, '... and two capons' are described as part of the annual rental.

Possibly at the north-east part² of High Street stood Maryon Hall, an academic hostel belonging to Oseney Abbey, about which little is known. Topographers seem uncertain, too, as to the site of S. Helen's Hall, owned in King John's time by Andrew Halegod, who sold the house to Philip of St. Helena, hence it was called S. Helen's Hall.

Another important house, known as 'Hosary's Hall,' was situated to the south-west of Bookbinders' Bridge, and is mentioned in a charter of Richard, Abbot of Oseney, 1265. It is said that the front of the house was ornamented with the arms of Robert D'Oyley,³ certain monastic rebuses, and carved figures, including one of S. Frideswide. These ornaments were removed by Dr. Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, to Cuddesdon about 1637, and there incorporated in a new hall or chapel then being built. However, in the Civil Wars, which soon followed, these new buildings were burnt, and all perished.

At the south-west corner of the street, adjoining the churchyard, there still stands the house known as Coombe School House or Coombe House.⁴ A tablet on the north side of the house records that:

'This Parish School-House was built in the year of our Lord 1702, and in the first year of the Reign of Queen Anne at the charge of Mr. John Coombe, Citizen and Plaisterer of London, borne in this Parish and free of this City, for the benefit of as many Poor Children as the Rent of the House will pay for their teaching to read and write; the Teacher to be the

¹ H. E. Salter, *Oxford City Properties*.

² In another place Anthony Wood says, 'It seems to be about ye corner ov' ag'st ye Red Ox,' which would be near Hollybush Row.

³ See p. 55.

⁴ See Plates cvii-cix.

⁵ In the High Street there still exists the sign of 'The Plasterers' Arms' on the front of a house formerly an inn, but whether there is any connection between John Coombe and the public-house is unknown. See Plate cvi.

Clerk of this Parish (if duly qualified), but if not the Teacher as well as the Children to be elected by the Churchwardens and overseers of the Poor, and such Elders as have executed both those offices in this Parish with the assistance of the Minister.'

According to another tablet in the church vestry the number of boys to receive education was fixed at ten. With the changes made by the Education Act of 1902, the bequest passed into the hands of the Charity Commissioners, who subsequently sold the property, with the consent of the trustees, to the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr.

In 1772 there still existed the 'Little Bridge' or 'Little Bookbinders' Bridge,' somewhere near to the site of No. 69, High Street. Adjoining this on the east side was the building known in the eighteenth century as Church House, often mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts. In 1756-7 there are entries as follows :

Pd. the Quit Rent for ye Church House to Ch. Ch. Coll., 4s. 6d.

Received of ye Overseers Rent for ye Church House, £20.

Pd. Bread and Beer to the Church House, 3s. 4d.

Pd. Nathl. Hanks a Bill for Slatting to the Church House, £3. 3s. 0d.

Pd. Mrs. Weston for Glazing Work to ye Church House, £1. 7s. 8d.

Subsequently the Church House was apparently converted into two or more tenements, the property being vested in the vicar and churchwardens of S. Thomas', and the proceeds devoted to 'the upkeep of the church.' For many years the site was leased to Messrs. Morrell's Trustees, who have lately become the owners of the property. The proceeds of the sale are invested and the interest earned still devoted to the old prescribed use.

In a Survey of 1772 the brewery is entered as being owned by Mr. Tawney, and in the street were many houses described as 'in lodgings,' implying that, then as now, the place was associated with refuges for the homeless and the destitute.

High Street was notable not many years ago for its numerous beer-houses. In a city directory of 1875 the following 'signs' of inns were included in this street. *South side* : 'The Swan' (a few feet to the south of Quaking Bridge), 'The Shoulder of Mutton,' 'The White Horse,' 'The Lamb and Flag,' 'The Red Ox.' *North side* : 'The Chequers,' 'The Turk's Head,' 'The Plasterers' Arms,' 'The Peacock,' 'The Windsor Castle.' In those days, too, there were more courts or yards than there are to-day, especially on the south side.

The late Dr. W. E. Sherwood (who once lived at the big house next to Quaking Bridge) in his book of reminiscences, after speaking of rat-catching as one of the amusements of undergraduates some sixty years ago, goes on to say :

'Another thing which we knew went on, but knew not where, was the "drawing" of badgers. Curiously enough I discovered only the other day that it was at the "Shoulder of Mutton" in S. Thomas', right opposite our back door, and we never suspected it ! I

remember once a badger being caught in the street not far from our house, but we thought it was a case of misdirected enterprise, which had led it from its haunt on Wytham Hill thus far into the city. Now it seems that it was rather the brave dash for liberty of a poor captive which had been snatched unwilling from its distant home.' ¹

HOLLYBUSH ROW

Hollybush Row was in the sixteenth century called 'Kingstocke.' It takes its present designation from the 'Hollybush' Inn, a once famous hostelry which stood on the site of the present Railway Hotel at the north-west corner of Park End Street. In coaching days it was the head-quarters of the coaches going to or coming from Cheltenham and Bath.

The 'Hollybush' was a notable guard-house ² and rallying-point of the Royalists during the Civil War whilst the King was in residence here.

'The temptations of the tap-room too often accompanied the career of arms. Young scholars, keeping company with soldiers in guard-rooms, learned to drink and game away their time. The songs of the Holly-bush (otherwise Holy Bush) near Rewley acquired a lively notoriety. But efforts were made by sober spirits to turn the hours of garrison duty to account. Some, says Wood, even at the Holly-bush would form parties to read to the others. Some organized discourses and formal disputations, from which drunkards were turned out.' ³

It is interesting that we still have one of the songs sung by the guard at this famous postern. It is entitled 'At the Holly Bush Guard.' One stanza may be quoted ⁴—

'Now no more will we harke
To the charmes of the Larke,
Or the tunes of the early Thrush.
All the woods shall retire,
And submit to the Quire
Of the Birds in the Holy Bush.

Chorus.

'Then sleepe, sleepe and enjoy your Beds,
You quiet drowsy Heads,
May the furies of the night
Scarlet fleas you affright.'

(*Men Miracles, with other Poems, 1646.*)

The Oxford Survey of 1772 indicates that there was just one house on the west side of the street, at the south-west corner, the remainder being described as 'meadow,' 'rickyard,' or 'garden,' with a small stream running alongside. There was a narrow bridge at the juncture of Hollybush Row and Botley Causeway. A feature of the east side was that many of the houses were described as 'in lodgings' or 'in weekly lodgings,' ⁵ implying that the occupants were of

¹ W. E. Sherwood, *Oxford Yesterday*.

² See Plate lxxxI.

³ H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography*.

⁴ F. Madan, *Oxford Outside the Guide Books*.

⁵ These probably represent 'Dutton's Holdings' as marked on a map of 1821, and mentioned in the records of the Hearth Tax for S. Thomas' Parish in 1665, when the 'holdings' were liable for sixty-three hearths. Anthony Wood says, 'There ran a ditch to divide Dutton's holding from Christ Church property'; and 'There be twenty

the poorer class. As late as 1851 it was recorded that several accidents, including two deaths, occurred through the open and unprotected state of the Hollybush ditch.

It is interesting to note that the distances as indicated on the milestones west of Oxford start from Hollybush Row and not from Carfax.

HYTHE BRIDGE STREET¹

In a will of 1580 the street is called 'Ruly Lane,' and it would seem that there were then many houses on the south side, all of which perished by fire in 1652. Next to the little bridge, on the south side, once stood S. Thomas' Parish poorhouses and workhouse,² which, according to the Survey of 1772, had a street frontage of 180 feet. Evidently the property was vested in the churchwardens of the parish, as they received an annual rental of £10. In 1775 the property, or part of it, was sold, the entry in the accounts reading thus: '1775. Received of Mr. John Haynes and Mr. Moses Keats the money for the workhouse, £40.'

The Wesleys and their fellow Methodists did much good work among prisoners and the poor in Oxford. A letter from John Clayton of B.N.C. to John Wesley in 1732 says:

'I have obtained leave to go to S. Thomas' workhouse twice a week. I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction, for there is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don't understand one word of what they read.

'I am to go down at six o'clock to hear the determination of a meeting of S. Thomas' Parish respecting separating Bossum and his wife. When I had promised to give a crown towards clothing the woman, the overseer had determined to take her in upon that condition, the churchwarden would needs have him try to put the man upon me too, to get a crown towards clothing him; but, as he is able to work for his living, I don't think him a proper object for charity.'

Adjoining the workhouse was the house familiarly known as 'Antiquity Hall,' a public-house with the sign of 'Whittington and his Cat,' and also known as 'The Hole in the Wall,' from the narrow doorway in the boundary wall, leading to the house which stood back from the street. It was a favourite hostelry of Thomas Hearne (the famous antiquarian in Queen Anne's reign) and his many friends, and is so commemorated in a well-known caricature of the time.³ Doubtless the name 'Antiquity Hall' was derived from the antiquaries' connection with the house. Apparently the property was owned by the parish church authorities, for the churchwardens' accounts for 1773 record the receipt of £2. 7s. 6d. for 'Half-a-year's Rent for the Hole in the Wall, due Michaelmas last past.'

holdings, or tenements, in S. Thomas' Parish that belong to the Duttons of Sherburne; they keep a court and claim [the] stocks'; and in a further note Wood says, 'All the houses from Bookbinders' Bridge to the Hollybush and forward on the right hand were Dutton's holdings'. This implies the north side of High Street from Bookbinders' Bridge, continuing along to Hollybush Row and thence along the east side of the last-named street. This agrees with the 1821 map of 'Christ Church property' in the parish where there is a large blank at this site and endorsed 'Sundry persons, Dutton's holding.'

¹ See Plate lxxxii.

² Each parish was then responsible for the care of its own poor and destitute people.

³ See Plate lxxxiii.

Before Park End Street and New Road were laid out as public highways under the Act of 1771, Hythe Bridge Street was more directly associated with Botley Road as the chief route from the centre of Oxford to the west.

Canon Chamberlain, vicar of S. Thomas', 1842 to 1892, resided at No. 40 in this street from 1869 until he died in 1892.

For Hythe Bridge, see p. 138.

IRISHMAN STREET

Irishman Street began at the eastern end of Hythe Bridge and continued eastwards until it joined Thames Street (now the eastern part of George Street), the two streets meeting somewhere about where is now the little entrance to Gloucester Green. Only part of Irishman Street was thus in S. Thomas' Parish. In a charter of 1256 (Henry III) it is called 'Yristrett,' and in another of Edward IV's time it is termed 'Yrshmanne Street.'

OSNEY LANE¹

As its name implies, the lane once led to the abbey of Oseney. Sometimes it is described as 'Oxmead Wall,' and even now the fields to the south are known as the 'Ox-Pens.' To-day the lane is chiefly notable for the blocks of buildings known as the 'Model Buildings,' erected by Christ Church, the chief land-owners of the parish. These buildings form a series of self-contained flats greatly appreciated by folk who can afford only the lowest of rents. Until about fifty years ago there was a running stream down the south side of the lane.

THE RAILWAYS

The railways occupy a good proportion of S. Thomas' Parish, for within its boundaries are situated the passenger stations, goods departments, locomotive sheds, and shunting yards of both G.W.R. and L.M.S.R., two of the 'big four' companies.

Under an Act entitled 'The Oxford Railway Act,' 1843,² a line was made from Didcot Junction to Oxford with a terminus on the south side of the city, near Folly Bridge.³ This railway was amalgamated with the G.W.R. under an Act of 1844 and was opened on June 12, 1844, being known as the G.W.R. (Oxford Branch). Subsequently the 'Oxford and Rugby Railway' was incorporated by an Act of 1845, and this also was amalgamated with the

¹ See Plates cx and cxi.

² 'On March 17, 1838, Convocation [of Oxford University] petitioned Parliament that G.W.R. should not be allowed to come nearer Oxford than Didcot. The reasons assigned were, that the existing means of communication with London were fully adequate, that the proposed branch line would do injury to the discipline of the University, and that the necessary works would cause floods by blocking the watercourse. The branch was not constructed till later, and not opened until June, 1844.' (F. Madan, *Oxford Outside the Guide Books*).

Previous to 1844 'Oxford was left in peace with its station ten miles off at Steventon, to and from which coaches ran daily, taking an hour and a half on the journey for a fare of three shillings. We learn that in 1842 77,567 passengers and 12,260 tons of goods were dealt with at that station.' (Macdermott, *History of the G.W.R.*, vol. 1, p. 427.)

³ 'In those days there was a toll-gate on Folly Bridge, and every vehicle, for goods or passengers alike, had to pay toll to pass through; . . . in moving their station [to near Osney Bridge] the company only just avoided a similar tax on their customers' [as the Osney turnpike gate was a few yards to the west of the new station] (W. E. Sherwood, *Oxford Yesterday*).

G.W.R. in May, 1846. It was opened for traffic to the north in connection with the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway¹ on September 2, 1850. The passenger station on the present site was built and opened in 1852.

An extension of the L.M.S.R. (then the L.N.W.R.) was extended from Bletchley to Oxford in 1851. It is said that the passenger station of this company was built in part from woodwork which formed one of the entrances of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The stations and yards of this company partly occupy the site of Rewley Abbey, and the G.W.R. track runs over the site of Oseney Abbey.

STOCKWELL STREET (NOW WORCESTER STREET)

Stockwell Street is the old name for an important thoroughfare which, prior to the making of the canal, extended southwards to the castle, and northwards to Little Clarendon Street. The site is now partly occupied by Worcester Street, the western side only being within the boundary of S. Thomas' Parish. Towards the south-west corner of the street there was once a famous well, called ('beyond the memory of man') 'Plato's Well,' which supplied citizens with water.

Nicolas de Stockwell was a Mayor of Oxford in the thirteenth century, the street being named after him because of his benefactions to the Church and to the poor. It is said that when Mayor Stockwell was forgotten, an idea arose that the street was named after the well, and so it came to be called Stock-Well or Stoke-Well.

In 1403, and again in 1406, there were complaints by citizens that a path they had used of old as leading to the 'fountain'—the Stock-Well—was blocked up, sometimes by the monks of Malmesbury, sometimes by the monks of Gloucester. Between Plato's Well and Gloucester College was Cornwall Close, where it is reputed once existed the home of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, founder of Rewley Abbey.

In this street, on the western side, were the buildings first occupied by the Carmelites at Oxford, before Edward II gave them Beaumont Palace in 1314.²

'At Worcester corner there was, not many years ago, plain proof that Stockwell Street crossed a fordway, and it seems to be that referred to in an Oseney charter of 1180, concerning "land to make a road at North Oseney near the fosse of the land of the said Canons together with the rushy-bed, which is between the ford called Wereford and the tenement of the Canons." A ford over the Were, and near to Rewley, would certainly be over the stream which feeds the castle mill, and nearly upon the site of Hythe Bridge.

'The rough land to the east of the site is still known as Brokenhays among the old population, and the floors of some of the old cottages there are even now most undecided which level to take. This may well recall the old word

¹ The initials O W and W R came to be known as the 'Old Worse and Worse Railway' and it is said that 'the wretched line thoroughly earned its nickname.'

² For further details respecting the Carmelites, see p. 136.

"haga," not in the simple sense of mound, but of earth-work; the mounds having been cast up, for all we know, to threaten the Empress Maud. Between the castle and these "hays," which Agas delineates so boldly in his map, was once the Jews' Mount, or better Justice Mount, placed by Agas within the castle precincts, and embellished with a gallows. The little inlet from Old Were or Castle Stream, the first of those to the east of Hythe Bridge, clearly shown in Loggan, and just discernible in Agas, is, as we are sure from a view map among Wood's miscellanea, the stream which ran from Plato's Well.'¹

The Daniel Press.

At the south-west corner of this street formerly stood Worcester House, occupied for many years by the late Rev. Dr. C. H. O. Daniel.² About 1903 property generally at this corner was demolished and the roadway widened in order to give more space to the ever-increasing traffic. The house was also known in literary circles as 'The Daniel Press,' and enjoyed a high reputation, with a recognized position as a pioneer among the famous private presses of the nineteenth century. In a review of *Memorials of C. H. O. Daniel*, issued in 1921, it was said:

'[The motive of] the worthiest sort of private press is pure love of an honourable craft. No better example exists than the private press of Dr. Daniel, late Provost of Worcester College, Oxford.³ To the love of the craft was added, in his case, the desire to give pleasure to literary friends, by presenting them with examples of fine literature, new and old, in the best dress which he could give to them with the means at his command. The books of the Daniel Press are now known among booklovers all the world over.

'Charles Henry Olive Daniel was given a toy press when he was a small boy. Such things usually serve their possessors for the space of the Christmas holidays, and are then forgotten; they beget so transient an interest in printing that those who have owned them care little and know little in after life of the processes by which their books and newspapers come into being. Daniel was an exception, to him printing became a dominant and a lifelong interest. In his boyhood at Frome he turned out work of usefulness and increasing interest, and when he settled down in 1874 in his fellowship at Worcester he resumed work with a second-hand press, to be superseded by another and a better in 1882, which served him to the end of his life, and now rests, in honourable tribute to his memory, in the Bodleian Library.

'It has not been generally recognized, even by those who have some acquaintance with the books of the Daniel Press, how deeply Dr. Daniel has laid us all under obligation. It was he who recovered from a century and a half of disuse Dr. Fell's type, which had lain forgotten at the Clarendon Press, and is now regarded as one of its most valuable possessions. It was he who made the first serious attempt to raise the standard of English printing, long before

¹ H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography*.

² Fellow of Worcester College, 1863-1903; Tutor, 1865-75. Ordained Deacon, 1862; Priest, 1885. Proctor, 1873-4; Bursar of his college, 1870-1903. In 1878 on his marriage he moved from his college rooms to Worcester House in Worcester Street. Oxford correspondent of *The Times* from 1873 to Dec. 31, 1908. Provost of Worcester College, 1903-19. Died Sept. 6, 1919, at his cottage at Oddington, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, in Gloucestershire, aged eighty-two.

³ See Plate cxviii.

William Morris founded the Kelmscott Press in 1891. The value of Dr. Daniel's work began to be recognized so early as 1887, and in 1903 was fully acclaimed by the Bibliophile Club of Weimar. No less on the literary side is he entitled to grateful remembrance. It was from the Daniel Press that many poems by Robert Bridges, Canon Dixon, Sir Herbert Warren, Mrs. Woods, and Laurence Binyon first came to their readers, while reprints of rare and occasionally unique works of the past won the interest of a new generation.

'The Daniel Press, then, was no mere amusement of a dilettante. It achieved a most useful work, and one which has had an enduring influence. Its output is now the quest of eager collectors: Dr. Daniel would have come to considerable fortune if he could have sold all his books at the prices now paid for them.

'By the press he will be known to posterity. Yet it seemed but the *parergon*, the hobby, of a life which included much other work, a life long, serene, varied, valuable. He gave service of the best kind to his college, to the University, to the city of Oxford. He found abundant happiness in work and in friendships. In this volume the tributes of several friends enable us clearly to picture the man. Those few who can maintain a press for their private ends—and that is the only adequate definition of a private press—will like to have before them the portrait of Dr. Daniel as that of one who was a master in the craft, and who constantly exercised it not merely for his own delight but for the good of others. Caxton has had in our time no truer disciple.'¹

Another biographical note includes the following:

'One of the most interesting and the best known of the productions of the Daniel Press was *The Garland of Rachel*, issued in 1881. In it Dr. Daniel, the printer, and seventeen "unknown friends" celebrated in verse the first birthday of Rachel Anne Olive Daniel. Few of the seventeen names are unfamiliar in the literary world to-day. It was also the first book in which large ornaments and miniation by Mrs. Daniel were used.

'Dr. Daniel had admirable taste, but he did not set out with any serious intention of reforming or improving English printing. He was an amateur who did his own work and aimed at pleasing himself and his friends by printing as well as the means at his disposal would allow, rather than at showing how beautiful a book could be made.'²

Beside the examples of printed work recorded above, it is fitting also to mention here the wonderful and unique programmes and announcement circulars which Dr. Daniel set up in type and printed for a sale of work connected with S. Thomas' Church. These are still remembered as outstanding features of the event, as well as being unique examples of typography.

Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen, contributed a striking Memoir of Dr. Daniel to the volume mentioned on page 132, from which it is permitted to quote the following notes:

'For his college Dr. Daniel did more than has yet been realized, or will be realized perhaps for a score of years. . . . He held one by one almost all its offices—Tutor, Bursar, Dean, Vice-Provost, and Provost, and he adorned them all. As Bursar he administered its

¹ *Church Times*, 1921.

Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 1912-1921.

business, he loved its lands and livings, and was the personal friend of its tenants and incumbents. As Fellow he recognized and cherished its rare collection of books. Always he loved its green pleasancess and swards, its flowering trees, its shining pool and silver swans, . . . its row of historic hospices, its Hall and its Chapel, either made more stately and beautiful by his care and contribution. . . .

‘His college prospered under his genial sway. Aided by his wife and daughters, he delighted in hospitality free and never-failing. At the gaudy his welcome and his speeches were of the warmest and the wittiest, making even the deaf among the guests to hear and the dumb to speak. His undergraduates held him in ever-increasing admiration and affection. His fellows and tutors were so well chosen that they were too often spirited off to larger and more lucrative posts. Never was the list of distinctions of present and past Worcester men more striking than in his last years. . . .

‘With his tall erect figure, his bright and sanguine complexion, his hair and beard, in his prime, of fine and ruddy gold, and never even in his eighty-third year altogether yielding to time’s silver alloy, active yet dignified, sedate but ready at call, a rare leonine blend of the strong and sweet, spiced too, so as not to cloy, with a dash of the tart, the humorous, even the satiric, he was a delightful never-palling talker and companion. . . .

‘In the last dozen years of his long and serene life cares of state, public duties in City and University, and the gentle, stealthy diminution of energy which comes, if not always with, yet after, seventy busy years, led him to rest on his now abundant laurels. He saw his work become well known, celebrated, sought after, fought for; the product of his busy leisure, the children of his brain and hand, held for a standard and exemplar; creations wrought for the pleasuring of himself and his friends, a possession for the connoisseur and the collector all the world over.

‘He himself remained unchanged, absorbed, and well contented in his varied and valuable life, his home and his college, City and University. To the last he read unceasingly and with rare width and depth of range. Greek and Latin had been alike his business and his enjoyment in his earlier days, French he had always read with zest, some Italian and German, and English of every period without stint. Later he added Spanish, and might be found often in his study, deep in the ample pages of the first edition of *Don Quixote*. Then came the catastrophe of the War, when all that the seniors of Oxford could do was to survive, to keep things together, to watch and wait. He was in his seventy-eighth year when it began. But he endured to the end.’

It seems only right to add here just a word of gratitude which express the thoughts of numerous parishioners who for many years felt greatly indebted to Dr. Daniel, Mrs. Daniel, and their two daughters for the keen personal interest continually shown in all that concerned the welfare of S. Thomas’ Church and Parish. It would indeed be difficult to adequately express in a few words how great and how beneficent was the help so generously given to a succession of vicars and to the parishioners. In those years the uplifting influence of all that is best associated with the culture and refinement of the University was often brought by members of this kind and friendly family into the more restricted lives of their fellow parishioners. The delightful entertainments, so gay, yet so refined, given in Worcester College Hall to S. Thomas’ people will long be remembered by those who were present. Since then, through inevitable changes, those blessings have been lost, and, alas! never replaced.

Anne Kendall.¹ Famous as a Benefactress.

Among the benefactors to S. Thomas' Church and Parish perhaps the most popularly known to-day would be Anne Kendall, who once lived in this street—on the eastern side—in a house ² whose site is now occupied by Cutler Boulter's Dispensary.

There are no less than four memorials to members of the family in the parish church.³ It would seem that Anthony Kendall, who died in 1678, had five daughters: Christiana, Maria, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Anne. The last named survived all her sisters and founded several charities.

In connection with the Kendall family, a strange story was contributed to *Folklore* in 1903 by the late Mr. Percy Manning, M.A., of New College. It is printed here as a matter of interest for those who are tolerant of ghost stories, though, to many, parts of the story will seemingly lack evidence of sufficient authority or authenticity.

'In the year 1714 Miss Anne Kendall of Oxford left the sum of £920 to trustees, in trust to pay from the interest of the amount £4 a year for life to six poor women in S. Thomas' Parish, and £4 a year to the preacher of a sermon on the afternoon of Christmas Day on condition that her grave and that of her parents in S. Thomas' churchyard should never be removed.⁴

'The three "Maiden Kendalls," so the story goes, lived in an house with latticed windows between Worcester Street and Gloucester Green, known as "Rewley House," which was standing within these twenty-five years. Latterly it was unoccupied and the windows were broken, and an Oxford lady of my acquaintance remembers, when a child, being afraid to pass it for fear of seeing the Kendalls. The sisters often used to be seen, especially on quarter days when the charity was distributed, . . . their usual haunts were, between the corner of Worcester Street and the old bridge over the ditch at the end of George Street, in Hollybush Row [? Hythe Bridge Street], now covered over by the road, along Hollybush Row to Osney Lane, and the end of Nuns' Walk, now called the "Ox-Pens," in Hall's close. A family named Barefoot, who lived some years back in the cottages in the Hamel (adjoining Hall's close) where the Model Buildings now stand, always looked for some strange sight or sound at the three months' end, and would spread the news of the appearance.

'The sisters came so strong at times that they were actually seen in broad daylight walking down Titmouse Lane. One informant says they were mostly seen separately, hardly ever together, and this agrees with the story of an eyewitness who, some thirty-three years ago, saw Lady Anne in evening dress, with white satin shoes, coming from the corner of Worcester Street over Hythe Bridge. The white satin shoes, by the way, seem to have been always noticed by every one who saw the ghost. The lady before quoted, however, tells me that the sisters were generally seen together, walking one behind the other, the tallest,

¹ See Plate cxiii.

² The house was known in the latter half of the nineteenth century as 'Rewley House' and used as a high school for girls, conducted by the Sisters of the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr. This was previous to the school removing to new buildings in Wellington Square. See p. 25.

³ See p. 28.

⁴ Probably the grave has never been removed, but it is extremely doubtful whether the site could be identified to-day

who was also the eldest, going first. They were generally dressed in grey silk, and my informant remembers hearing them called the grey ladies.

'At last they were laid under the Castle Mill Bridge by thirteen bishops. One of the bishops, who was chosen by lot, had to turn his back on the place of "laying" during the ceremony, and he is said to have died during the ensuing year. New channels were cut so as to insure a constant supply of water under the bridge. As long as a tobacco-pipe-full of water runs under the bridge the sisters will remain quiet, but whenever the water runs dry, as has occasionally happened, they will come again.'¹

Among the benefactions of Anne Kendall was one for a sermon on Christmas Day. 'Considerable numbers of people are attracted to this church on the evening of every Christmas Day, when a sermon is preached and several pieces of sacred music are performed.'

The Carmelites (or White Friars).

The first of the Carmelites who came to England arrived about 1238, nor was it long before (about 1241) some of the White Friars, so called from their white cloaks,² came to study at Oxford. But for some time they had no regular house. S. Simon Stock, the English glory of the Order, was one of their earliest students here. He took his degree about 1244. About ten years later Lord Nicholas de Meules, of Somersetshire, a former Governor of Oxford Castle, gave them his house in Stockwell Street. Its site was near-by, or at the southern end of, what is now Worcester College. In 1256 a very rich burgess of the town, Nicholas Stockwell, from whom the street probably took its name, finding the site so confined that the monks were unable to erect a chapel and other buildings which they required, gave them a courtyard adjoining. On this, with the leave of the monks of Oseney, for it was in their parish of S. Thomas', and supported by such powerful friends as Ela, Countess of Warwick, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Lord Nicholas de Meules, a chapel was erected. Ten years later another narrow strip of ground, running down to the river, was purchased by them for garden and pleasure grounds, which is now part of Worcester College gardens.

There was a Friar Baston in the community who as poet laureate had sung the victories of Edward the First over the Scotch. When Edward the Second went on his ill-starred expedition to Scotland, he took with him this religious, then prior of the Oxford house, to sing his successes. As the luckless king fled from the rout of Bannockburn in 1314, he vowed to our Lady to build a house in England for the White Friars should he cross the borders in safety. But when he reached York, the royal treasury was empty, and so Friar Baston suggested that he should make over to his Order the royal palace of Beaumont, facing the then White Friars' Monastery. The grant was made in 1317 at a

¹ Manning, *Folklore*, vol. xiv, p. 66, 1903.

² Leonard Hutten (in his *Elizabethan Oxford*) says: 'their white habits were originally edged with red in imitation of the garments of Elias the Prophet.'

Parliament at York of the 'manse of our manor,' and it was ordered that twenty-four friars, students of theology, should be there maintained—a pension of five marks per annum being allowed for each by the king. On their removal to Beaumont Palace the Carmelites let their old house and grounds to the Benedictines of Gloucester Hall.

'SWANS' NEST' OR 'THE SWANNERY'

Near to the castle mill, and probably on the site of the buildings lately known as the 'Swan' Brewery, the city formerly kept a flock of swans. In a lease of 1576 it is recorded that he who had the care of them was to provide fat ones every year and leave six old ones at the end of his lease. Another lease contracts for twelve swans to be left for breed. In the leases granted by the city from 1616 to 1741 to various lessees 'two capons' invariably form part of the annual rental.

Between 'Swans' Nest' and Quaking Bridge stood, until towards the end of last century, a public-house known as 'The Swan.'¹ In leases granted by the city from 1597 to 1834 'two pullets' often formed part of the annual rental.

It is a curious fact that Thames swans still pay frequent, if not annual, visits to the streams near-by the old 'Swannery,' and at times indicate evidence of their wild nature, as the following episode will show:

'Few birds protect their young so faithfully as do swans, and an instance of this took place on Sunday, when a small terrier dog was attacked and killed by two swans in a stream which runs at the back of Paradise Square, near Messrs. Bennett's laundry.

'The dog, a small black mongrel, possibly a stray, as it had no collar, ran from the Oxpens across the S. Ebbe's allotments to the side of the river near the bottom end of S. Thomas' recreation ground. Here its attention was attracted by three young swans which were feeding near the bank, and running backwards and forwards it barked excitedly. The two parent birds were in the vicinity, and with a loud hissing noise at once attacked the dog. The mongrel endeavoured to get away, but the swans were too quick for it and pecked at it with relentless fury. The unfortunate dog fought valiantly for about five minutes, but was unable to withstand its attackers, which eventually killed it and left it lying on the bank, where it was picked up and buried. . . . The same swans killed two ducks near the Upper Fisher Row because they went too near the cygnets. The young swans are now nearly as big as their parents, but they are still jealously guarded, and no one, except those who go there to feed them, is allowed to get anywhere near. The swans have not yet attacked any person, but they have been known to flap their wings and hiss vehemently at people, especially children, who on some occasions have been alarmed by the parent birds' threatening demeanour.'²

THE THAMES WITH ITS BY-STREAMS AND BRIDGES IN THE PARISH

The river Thames may be claimed as a notable feature of S. Thomas', for the main stream provides a good portion of the parish boundary line. There

¹ See Plates xcvi and xcix.

² *Oxford Times*, August, 1927.

are also quite a number of by-streams, necessitating several bridges, though both by-streams and bridges are less numerous hereabouts to-day than they were a hundred years ago. Again, such Thames-side features as Osney Lock, Osney Mill, and the Castle Mill all still exist within the parish borders.

The volume and variety of transport business prevailing on the Thames in years prior to railways is inconceivable to-day, nor can it be easily realized how immense were the difficulties involved in the work of transit. The towing of the barges and boats was often done by gangs of men, who were sometimes called 'scuffle-hunters.'

The information given in the footnote printed below¹ indicates what a real everyday convenience for everyone the Thames was in the days of no railways and but scanty, ill-kept roads. Yet soon after the spread of railroads the competition for merchandise seriously affected the rivers.² In the prosperous days the riverside must have meant much to S. Thomas', as all traffic from the west to London passed through the parish.

In olden days navigation down stream came via Medley, and thence by the easternmost stream to Hythe Bridge and along by Fisher Row towards the castle mill; or for traffic going through or beyond Oxford the stream west of Fisher Row running under Bookbinders' Bridge would be taken, ultimately rejoining the present navigation stream at a point just below the Black (railway) Bridge. The present main stream for navigation between Sheepwash Bridge and just beyond Osney Lock was, it is sometimes believed, promoted by the Osney canons, in order to provide motive power for their mill.

*Hythe Bridge.*³

The word 'hythe' is derived from a Saxon word meaning 'wharf'—a landing-place, as used in Bablockhythe and Rotherhithe. In the years when the river was the chief highway for traffic hithes generally were extremely busy places. Doubtless the hithe here extended a good way both north and south of the bridge. The extensive cargoes landed at Hythe Bridge would ultimately be taken along Irishman Street (now George Street) to the north gate of the city.

The original bridge, it is thought, was built by Robert D'Oyley towards the end of the eleventh century, though possibly the first mention of it is not traced earlier than 1257, when, in an inquisition concerning the reparations

¹ A Lechlade bargemaster in 1793 stated that the chief goods carried down to London (through Oxford) were 'Iron, Copper, Tin, Pig-iron, Brass, Spelter, Nails, Iron goods, Cheese, Cannon, Bomb Shells.' He took back 'Groceries, Deals, Foreign Timber, Merchandise of every kind, a few Coals, Raw Hides, and Gunpowder.'

When in 1588 county levies were being raised against the Spanish Armada, the Privy Council instructed the Lord Mayor of London 'to provide botes, barges, whyrries, and other apt vessels for the transporting of a band of men owt of the countye of Oxon unto Gravesend.'

In a petition to Parliament, in 1348, concerning obstructions in the river, it was stated that 'the common carriage of victuals is greatly impeded and victuals daily grows dearer' (F. S. Thacker, *The Thames Highway—Locks and Weirs*).

² 'No canal boat or barge has passed down between King's Weir and Sheepwash Bridge with the exception of two or three boats partly loaded with timber, and two or three canal boats with coals, during the last two years' (Treacher, *Papers*, 1861. Quoted in Thacker, *supra*).

³ See Plates lxxviii, lxxxix, and lxxx.

of the bridges about Oxford, the bridge over the Thames near the castle, over which the King used to pass to his own palace of Beaumont, was stated to want reparation ; this may refer to Hythe Bridge.

In the fourteenth year of Edward the First, 1285, it is mentioned by its own name as *Brugge de la Hythe* ; but whether it was then built of stone or timber is not known. Probably it was of the latter material ; as in 1383, having fallen to ruin, it was rebuilt of stone, with three arches, by Thomas de Cudlington, Abbot of Oseney. In the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth the Mayor and Council of Oxford made an Order, that for the repair of this bridge all boats unloading cargoes here should be taxed. The present bridge was built about 1861.

Anthony Wood records that in 1659 he was present when the Anabaptists publicly baptized people 'at High Bridge.' The ceremony was 'beheld by hundreds of people that would shout at it and make it ridiculous.'

Both Hythe Bridge and the smaller bridge, a few yards to the west (called Quackes Bridge in a map of 1616, and later Little Hythe Bridge) are apparently included in the 'Seven Bridges' between Oxford and Old Botley. Seven Bridges' Road was a name formerly given to Botley Road.

Bookbinders' Bridge.

'Ye Brygge called Bokebynderbrygge' is mentioned in Oseney Charters of Edward III. Originally built about the time of the founding of Oseney Abbey (1129), it later took its name possibly from the adjoining tenements, which it is thought were occupied by the monastery bookbinders ; though a later authority suggests that more likely it was due to Oseney purchasing some property about here which belonged to a bookbinder.

After a prolonged lawsuit in the fourteenth century between the city and Oseney, this bridge was declared to be the boundary between Oxford City and the feudal manor of Oseney, where the abbot claimed jurisdiction and held his court of justice.

'Bookbinders' Bridge still crosses the very narrow stream along which doubtless passed all the through navigation, not intended for the castle mills, in old times.¹

Oseney (or, as now spelt, Osney) Bridge.

The original bridge here was perhaps built by the Oseney canons. The earliest mention of the bridge that Anthony Wood could find was in an indenture of 1467, between the Abbot of Oseney 'and the ferryman of Hinxsey Hith at Laurence Hinxsey.'

In 1662 it is described as a stone bridge of three arches. The Conservators of the Thames, in 1869, were seeking powers to rebuild the bridge, as in its damaged state it was regarded 'as a serious obstruction.'

¹ F. S. Thacker, *The Thames Highway—Locks and Weirs*.

In December, 1885, the central arch of the bridge suddenly collapsed ; this necessitated the building of the present bridge, which was opened for traffic in 1889.

Castle Bridge (formerly called New Bridge).¹

Anything definite about its origin has apparently been very difficult to trace. Anthony Wood says : ' It is the bridge without the west gate, near the medi-amney called Swans' Nest at the tail of the Castell Mill, passable for a cart and supported by three columnes of stone. In the ancient autographs and dimissions sometimes belonging to Ousney Abbey it is called by that name, viz. " novus pons " ; but now and before the memory of man Mill and Castle Bridg. I meet with nothing memorable of it either in respect of its first foundation or reparations ; but only occasionally of its name in ancient charts, and that the chamberlaines of Oxon. have bin presented for its reparation.' ²

Osney Lock.

In 1227 the then weir was the subject of a friendly note as follows : ' To the abbot and convent of Oseney : Whereas the wear in the Thames is a nuisance to the Friars' preachers of Oxf. and they (the Osney Conv.) purposed to move it to another place where it cannot hurt them, and whereas it appears by inquisition that it is not to the hurt of the town to move the wear, the king, commending their charity in this behalf, not only grants license to move the wear, but thanks them for doing so.' ³

A poundlock is first mentioned in 1787. It was built by the castle felons ; at the end of 1789 £50 was paid to ' Mr. Harris, the head of the castle,' for their services. One Edward Edge had contracted to build a new lock of stone for £750 ; but the felons were cheaper still. It was opened at the end of 1790. In 1793 Mrs. Hill was in charge of the lock, with 3s. 6d. per week, the barge toll being 2½d. per ton.

During the year 1800 freemen of the City of Oxford claimed free passage as of right, which was disallowed. In 1800 the lock-keeper was also responsible for the pen at Folly Bridge, for the ' Four Streams ' drawbridge, and for Medley gates.

Pacey's Bridge.

This was doubtless so called after a parishioner, Mr. Pacey, who in 1772 occupied the house adjoining the bridge at the north-east corner. The bridge formed part of the new thoroughfare from Queen Street to Botley Road laid out under the Act of 1771. It was rebuilt and considerably widened in 1925.

¹ See Plate xc.

² Wood, *City of Oxford*, ed. by Andrew Clark, vol. 1, p. 432.

³ F. S. Thacker, *The Thames Highway—Locks and Weirs*.

Sheepwash Bridge.

Sheepwash Bridge is a towpath-bridge crossing the river opposite Tumbling Bay bathing-place. It was formerly of timber, with three openings, exceedingly troublesome to the barges on account of the abrupt turn under it. The present one-span bridge was erected about 1866.

The river near this bridge, known as 'Four Streams,' is nearly in the form of a cross. The arm going eastward flows towards Fisher Row and Castle Mill; the arm running westward, one of the older navigation streams, flows under the bridge in Binsey Lane and Bulstake Bridge on the Botley Road and rejoins the present main stream below Osney Mill. The other two arms are formed by the main stream running from Medley at the north and travelling southward towards Osney Lock.

Quaking Bridge.¹

Quaking Bridge (the derivation of the name is unknown) goes back to the fourteenth century, and probably earlier still. In an entry in the Close Rolls dated May, 1324, it is described as: 'A bridge anciently constructed over the Thames whereby the canons of Oseney were wont to pass into the chapel of S. George in the Castle (which they are bound to do daily).'² And it is further stated that the bridge 'had been broken down and wholly removed for the greater security of the castle in the late disturbance. The king ordered it to be reconstructed at his own cost of 60s.'

In a record of inquests it is stated that 'on Saturday, All Saints' Day, 1393, John Tragschyr, canon of Oseney, was found dead in the water near Castle Mill. The jury say that he slipped on a bridge called Quaking Bridge and fell into the water and was drowned.' Evidently in those days Quaking Bridge had no railings. Two of the canons crossed the bridge daily as they went from Oseney to the chapel of S. George.³ In a document of Henry IV (1403) it is called 'Quakyng Brygge.'

Among the bridges, other than those previously mentioned, within the parish boundary are, or used to be, the following:

Quackes Bridge, the smaller bridge west of Hythe Bridge, so called in a seventeenth-century map.

Little Bridge, which once stood west of Bookbinders' Bridge.

Hammil Bridge. This was at the south end of the Hamel, leading to Osney Lane. There was a stream of water running down the north side of the lane less than a hundred years ago.

Lay's Bridge, *Buck's Bridge*, and *Ox Bridge*, of which there are records, cannot now be located as to their situation.

¹ See Plates xcvi, xcix.

² F. S. Thacker, *The Thames Highway—Locks and Weirs*.

³ H. E. Salter, *Coroner's Inquests, the Walls of Oxford, etc.*

River Floods.

The disadvantages of living amidst many streams, at least in olden days, is indicated by the following notes, taken from a long letter of complaint by Christ Church in 1576 to the city authorities.

'7. Item, the said Cytie have this yeare made a sluise in a bancke neare unto Rewley whall, wheare theare was any such thinge, so as the housse and grounds of Rewley must nedes be drowned in winter, when any flude shall come, as they were the last yeare, by the default of the said Cytie in not meakinge up the said bancks, through w^{ch} the mayne Thames did breake in, all the winter season.

'8. Item, the said Cytie dothe suffer the flaggs of the Thames, beinge cutte by them, to come into Rewley in greate heapes, wheareby the water ys taynted, and the diches fylled up theire wth, and the water course w^{ch} passethe from Rewley into S. Thomas' parishe ys eyther stopped up or els the water poysoned, wheareby the parishe of S. Thomas ys more subiect to sicknes then all the parishes about Oxford, by reason of the noysome savours w^{ch} come from theire dyches, beinge drye, or by the unwholesome water w^{ch} the Cytie have poysoned wth the fylthe of theire flaggs.

'10. Item, the dyches upon bothe sydes of the foote waye to Lawrence Hincksey are so floundred up wth flaggs and fylth, that the water hathe not his passage at Wincklesgate, but the streame ys theare so greate, that passingers cannot passe to and fro wthowt the helpe of a boate, and wthowt greate danger of theire lives, in the winter season.'¹

In more recent years, too, floods have often proved most troublesome. In October, 1774, there are records of a heavy flood, by which many roads were rendered impassable. It is said that the parish church was then closed for a month; and many inhabitants in the parish were compelled to live upstairs and to have their food brought to them by boat. In 1816 there was another serious flood, the water in the Hamel being, so it is said, nearly four feet deep, which was relieved by a hole being knocked through the 'Ox-Pens' wall, then forming a boundary line along the whole south side of Osney Lane. In 1821 high floods again occurred, and several wedding parties were conveyed in punts along Hollybush Row to the church, and raised planks were necessary in the church to enable the parties concerned to reach the chancel. After 1825, when the floor level of the parish church was raised, nothing is heard of any further trouble there; but occasionally there have been in later years, e.g. in 1875 and 1882, considerable floods, notably in the High Street and its adjacent yards.²

TITMOUSE LANE

The derivation of this name is uncertain, but there are two or three records which seem suggestive. In 1692 there was a house called 'Tydmersh' 'neare the Castle,' which Richard Claridge of S. Mary Hall, a zealous Nonconformist, used as a meeting-place. In 1665 Richard Titmarsh was a householder in S. Thomas', and in a Survey of 1772 the street is called Titmarsh's Lane. It

¹ Turner, *Records of the City of Oxford*, 1509-83.

² See Plates ci and cii.

then extended northwards as far as George Street. The malt-houses on the west side at that date were in the occupation of Mr. Tawney. A large proportion of the eastern side was called 'Rod Ham' and occupied by Mr. Etty, who seems to have had possession of 'the Castle Hills' also.

THE YARDS AND ROWS¹

In the houses arranged as 'yards,' 'rows,' or 'courts,' which form a notable feature of S. Thomas' Parish, the lack of accommodation and conveniences, not only desirable but necessary to family life, is more strongly recognized to-day than it was sixty or seventy years ago. Many here would be only too glad to move into better houses, if they were available at a like rent or but little extra, as their income does not permit more. One of the greatest needs in S. Thomas' to-day is new cottages at a modest rent. It is only right to put on record that the inhabitants of these congested areas have always included members of families of high personal character and self-respect, as well as some who have not succeeded in rising above the inevitable depressing and sordid environment. But miracles of grace are not unknown in these parts to-day; nor are deeds of real heroism, as witness the following:

'In June, 1889, Mrs. E. Clemson was busy in her home in one of the courts when an alarm was given that a man (Thomas Hayes) was in danger of drowning in the stream which runs at the back of the yards on the north side of High Street. Mrs. Clemson, though unable to swim and fully clothed, at once jumped in the water to the man's assistance and managed to get him to the bank when he was safely hauled out. But Mrs. Clemson herself was so exhausted that she had sunk twice in her struggles before a clothes prop was brought which she was able to grasp and so got safely brought out of the water. In recognition of this brave act she was presented with the Royal Humane Society's Certificate.'

Charles Morgan. Organ blower at Carfax Church.

In the late 'seventies and 'eighties of last century there lived in Ayres' Yard Charles Morgan, a man well known in his time as something of 'a character.' In his daily toil he was employed at the 'Swan' Brewery,² and was probably one of the last to wear, at daily work, the garment known as a 'long smock,' beautifully gathered with needlework (known as 'smocking') back and front of the upper part near the wide turned-down collar.

On Sundays he was engaged as organ-blower at Carfax Church, and could be seen dressed in a dark blue cut-away coat with tails, corduroy breeches, worsted stockings, low shoes, and wearing a wonderful top-hat. As he was somewhat lame, he became a noticeable figure as he wended his way from S. Thomas' to the City Church twice every Sunday.

¹ See Plates cxiv and cxv.

² About this time there were no less than four breweries in the parish, viz Messrs. Morrell, the Lion Brewery; Messrs. Hall, the Swan Brewery; Messrs. Weaving, the Eagle Brewery; and Messrs. Phillips, the Tower Brewery; besides the large stores of Messrs. Simonds' Hop Leaf Brewery, Reading. Probably there has been a succession of breweries in S. Thomas' since the sixteenth century.

'In 1562 a brewhouse existed in S. Thomas' but the brewers were still liable to annoying restrictions, as for example the order laid down in 1568 that all Oxford brewers were bound to have their grinding done at the Castle Mill' ('Victoria County Histories,' *Oxford*, vol. II).

The Cholera in Oxford.

When Oxford suffered from cholera in 1848 and 1854 S. Thomas' Parish was one of the areas where the disease was most prevalent. At that time there were many more 'yards' than there are to-day.¹ No less than thirteen of these overcrowded places are particularly mentioned in Sir Henry Acland's report in 1854, viz. : Robert's Yard, Lamb and Flag Yard, Brazier's Yard, Faulkner's Row, Tawney's Yard, Billing's Row, Orpwood's Row, Vaughan's Yard, Green's Yard, Blay's Yard, Shoulder of Mutton Yard, Corbett's Yard, Steane's Yard. The report further says :

'The dwellings of S. Thomas' can only be cleansed by removal ; in short, faulty dwellings, faulty ventilation, foul streams, inadequate drainage, are by united testimony to be found still. . . . S. Thomas' has been greatly improved in the last ten years; indeed any one familiar with the course and state of its ditches in 1846 would hardly recognize some parts of it.'

Felicia Mary Frances Skene.²

This is a convenient and not altogether inappropriate place, because of her heroic work in the courts and yards, to include a brief notice of a very notable worker and friend of S. Thomas', who for her noble and beautiful character was indeed known far beyond this parish. Felicia Mary Frances Skene was a lady of many accomplishments, with a striking personality ; a great traveller in her younger days, an author of distinction, and to numberless people 'a pillar of strength in time of trouble, and a well-spring of sympathy abundant and inexhaustible.'

Her father, Mr. James Skene, Laird of Rubislaw, Aberdeen, was a personal friend of Sir Walter Scott, who was constantly at Rubislaw, where he felt, and was, as free as in his own home. On her mother's side she was related to the famous Forbes family, and claimed as cousin Alexander Penrose Forbes³ who before she (Miss Skene) came to Oxford had worked under Mr. Chamberlain at S. Thomas'.

It was about 1850 that she first made the acquaintance of the vicar of S. Thomas', when he was visiting relations at Leamington, where Mr. Skene and his family were then living. Her interest in all that she learnt of Mr. Chamberlain's work at S. Thomas' was increased by a friendship she formed with his cousin, Miss Marion Hughes,⁴ then attached to the Sisterhood⁵ in the parish.

The more Miss Skene saw of Oxford the more she felt its attraction. Every aspect of the University-City appealed to her—socially, intellectually, and spiritually the place offered to her all that she most desired. Each visit she paid there, whether it took her into a centre of work or play, increased the attraction. The Dons found her an agreeable addition to every social gathering ; and breakfast and other parties were got up that the guests might be

¹ In later years a good many of the houses in the yards have been condemned and closed, and there are now fewer inhabitants in these quarters.

² See Plate cxvi.

³ See p. 18.

⁴ See p. 22, note.

⁵ See p. 37.

introduced to the traveller and writer. At that time she made the acquaintance of the Rev. Charles Marriott, Dean Burgon, and other interesting men. Great was her satisfaction when her parents decided to live there ; and thus began the long spell of nearly fifty years of Oxford life which was to bring so many blessings to others and to herself.

Mr. Chamberlain's work and influence soon attracted her strongly ; the very fact that he was fighting on the side of the minority¹ at once appealed to her generous nature. Whether she fully sympathized with him in all his policy or fully shared his standard of faith and practice or not, she was ever loyal in carrying out all his wishes and responding to all his demands. If his nature was less wide and sympathetic than her own, the force of his character and convictions made ample amends for any little differences in this way. Thus she became more and more absorbed in work of various kinds in connection with S. Thomas' Church and Parish.²

In 1854 a fresh claim came upon her energies. Oxford was once more attacked by cholera and smallpox. It was the worst visitation of cholera that had occurred here, numbering more victims than at either of the two previous outbreaks, and again S. Thomas' was one of the ' black spots ' on the map. A number of voluntary workers—doctors, clergy, and others—soon banded themselves together to cope with the scourge. The plan of campaign was twofold—one, the provision of a temporary hospital, by adapting three old cattle-sheds, for patients who could be removed thereto ; the other was the nursing and tending of patients in their own homes.

The nursing carried on in the homes of the sick, in which Miss Skene took the leading part, was probably the harder and more trying of the two parts of the campaign because of the dreadful condition of some of the tenements in the yards and courts where the sufferers lived. Here were found the worst cases, the patients being too ill to be removed to the special hospital, and, moreover, some of these cases were often aggravated through moral or mental weaknesses. At first Miss Skene tried to carry on her labours among these sufferers single-handed, but it soon became necessary to enlist other helpers. A deputy-chairman of the Board of Guardians was made responsible for engaging a band of respectable women as nurses, and Miss Skene supervised and instructed them in their duties. She had undertaken no light task, for if on the whole the women did their work satisfactorily, many were ignorant of the duties involved and needed considerable training. How she acquitted herself Sir Henry Acland has testified :

' Lastly, because the most important, a lady (who desires her name³ to be withheld) daily visited every house within a certain area, to instruct the nurses, to comfort the sick, to cheer the disconsolate, and, where need was, herself to nurse in a sudden emergency, or to relieve a wearied attendant. By day and by night she plied this task ; and when she rested,

¹ See pp. 18-26.
by Miss Skene.

² There are folk living here to-day who remember being prepared for Confirmation
³ Long since identified as Miss Skene.

or where—as long, at least, as she knew of a house where disease had entered—is known to herself alone.’

The cases which Miss Skene and her fellow labourers had to cope with are painful even to read about. Here is one that Sir Henry Acland mentions in his report :

‘ Soon after five one morning a woman awoke in the agony of cramps, with intense and sudden collapse. She was seen at six. There was in her room no article of furniture except one broken chair, no bed of any kind, no fire, no food ; she lay on the bare boards ; a bundle of old sacking served for a pillow ; she had no blanket or any covering but the ragged cotton clothing she had on. She rolled screaming. One woman, scarcely sober, sat by ; she sat with a pipe in her mouth, looking on. To treat her in this state was hopeless. She was to be removed. There was a press of work at the hospital and a delay. When the carriers came, her saturated garments were stripped off, and in the finer linen and in the blankets of a wealthier woman she was borne away, and in the hospital she died.

‘ Her room was cleaned out ; the woman who cleaned it had next night the cholera. She and her husband were drunk in bed. The agony sobered her, but her husband went reeling about the room ; in a room below were smokers and drinkers. Then a woman of the streets in her gaudiness came up to see her. They would not hear reason, but drank more spirits. The victim of the disease cried out to the end that her soul was everlastingly lost ; and she died.’

At all hours Miss Skene might have been seen going about the infected streets and yards carrying hot-water bottles and other comforts for the sufferers. If she was not sitting up at night with one of them, she was willing and ready to be sent for at any moment. The front door of her house¹ was kept unlocked, with a policeman walking up and down to guard it, to make her summons easy.

The cholera cases were often terribly rapid. The patient would suddenly be seized with violent pains, and in a couple of hours all would be over. The cases of smallpox were even more painful and distressing. Those who were stricken down with it were often so changed as scarcely to look human. Miss Skene would sometimes find the sick or dying left entirely alone in the house, and on her would fall the burden and responsibility of tending them through the night. She would often have to lay out the dead ; and if there were no friends or relations to attend the funeral she would follow them to the grave herself alone.

Her fearlessness struck all with whom she laboured in this terrible work, rendering her, as it seemed, fortunately less liable to catch the disease herself. Her tenderness invited confidence, so that the patients could pour out to her the anxieties which weighed on their minds and sometimes retarded recovery. Her courage and cheerfulness braced them to make an effort to get well again, while her strong will ensured obedience to her orders. Her very presence with its vigorous vitality seemed to inspire them all with a new hope and strength.

When the scourge came to an end the love and gratitude she had so nobly

¹ Miss Skene resided in that part of New-Inn-Hall Street now called S. Michael's Street.

won were deep and lasting, though sometimes the words with which grateful thoughts were expressed were not what she herself would have chosen.

About 1857 Miss Skene embarked on another charitable work which eventually became the great feature of her life—the assistance of those of her own sex who most needed such help, first by rescue work, and then by visiting in Oxford gaol, through special permission of a magistrate. There are many ladies at the present day who carry on the difficult work of visiting female prisoners in gaols, but it probably could be claimed for Miss Skene that she was the first lady to receive official permission to become a regular visitor in one of H.M. prisons.

On May 13, 1878, Miss Skene writes in her prison diary :

‘I received this day permission from the Commissioners to visit the female prisoners in the County Gaol, Oxford. By the wish of the Governor and the Chaplain it was settled that I was to go there regularly on two days in the week, Tuesdays and Fridays, at eleven o’clock, and also that I should be allowed to see the prisoners alone, without the presence of the Matron. I have always regretted that I never kept any record of my visits to the old City Gaol now closed, where I have gone at intervals for more than twenty years, and I therefore mean to keep a register of the days on which I am able to go to the County Prison, although I am little likely to have even half the years to carry on the work there that I had in the older prison. Even if my life continues, my strength must fail.’¹

In a memoir of her life issued in 1902 it is stated—

‘She little thought that [in 1878] only half her course of prison life had run, and that another twenty years of it awaited her. . . .

‘Nothing but serious illness or absence from home could induce her to give up her bi-weekly visits ; while if there were any particular reason for going to a prisoner, she would not wait for the right day, since, as one of the officers remarked, the prison gates would always fly open for her. . . .

‘She certainly earned her privileges by a careful observance of rules. The visitor’s work is one requiring great tact and self-restraint. Only by conscientious attention to all the regulations could ill-effects on the prisoners and friction with the authorities be avoided. . . .

‘The condition to which she alludes in her diary, that she should see the prisoners alone, she felt to be essential. The presence of an official, however kindly, would prevent confidence and quench the influence she hoped to gain over them. To her alone they might speak out ; her visits they would learn to recognize as the voluntary ones of a friend, not as the duty visits of a paid official. . . .

‘Sometimes it was a dangerous experiment. There was a woman in the punishment cell, at one time, of so furious a temper that no one dared to go near her. Felicia Skene, however, would not shrink from the ordeal ; and so touched was the poor creature at finding that a lady was not afraid to approach her, that she laid her handkerchief on the dusty floor, in the style of Sir Walter Raleigh, for her visitor to stand on. . . .

‘Knowing what a crucial moment it is in the lives of prisoners when they leave the gaol—how many are the snares awaiting them in their first hour of freedom if they are reckless, how sorely they stand in need of a friend if they wish to make a fresh start—Felicia would be at the gates to meet any woman on her discharge, as early as seven o’clock in the morning.

¹ E. C. Rickards, *Felicia Skene of Oxford: A Memoir*.

Then came the struggle to induce the released prisoner to keep the promise extracted from her in captivity, to go straight to the Refuge; where Sister Ruth, whose kindly rule generally had excellent influence on the inmates, would befriend her; sending her on in due time to some other Home, getting her a suitable situation, or restoring her to her friends if desirable. Felicia's prison-diary is a chequered record of success and failure.¹

Miss Skene wrote many papers on prison subjects, e.g. *Prison Reform*, *The Children of Criminals*, *Reform in Criminal Law*, *Juvenile Criminals*, *Capital Punishment*, etc. As a matter of fact, throughout her long life of philanthropy she was ever busy with her pen, and the list of works of which she was the author, anonymously or signed with her name, covers quite a wide field of subjects.

In one of her printed articles Miss Skene owned that she had no faculty whatsoever for teaching, and yet every day she appeared for many years at Rewley² to teach music, French, and drawing. This school had been promoted by Mr. Chamberlain as part of his method of inculcating sound Church principles; and a lady who was a good linguist, a first-rate singer, and something of an artist was too great a treasure not to be utilized.

It need hardly be said here that while working under the influence and guidance of Mr. Chamberlain in many things, it was obviously the divine Master Who was the centre of her religious life and passionate devotion, and for Whom she loved to labour with all the powers of her heart and mind. For Him she was ready to draw upon every talent and accomplishment she possessed, whether of the lighter and more secular kind—her singing, her ready wit and humour, her personal charm—or of more solid and serious nature in teaching, nursing, temperance and rescue work. Where she felt her help was needed, whether the work went against the grain or no, it mattered nothing to her, as she ever readily did her utmost. In a word, she was a typical example of the devoutly earnest and practical side of the Oxford Movement in its earlier days. Her last Sunday was spent in the usual way: up at 6.15 a.m. to attend the service to receive the Blessed Sacrament which had ever brought comfort and joy to her; twice to her familiar haunt, the prison chapel; and then to the cathedral. She felt ill the next day, but managed to get to S. Thomas' Church and to the prison. On the following Friday, October 6, 1899, she passed into the nearer presence of the divine Master Whom she had loved and served so faithfully.

Miss Skene's interest in S. Thomas' Church and Parish lasted through all changes to the end of her life. She never ceased to attend the services,³ or to help the incumbents who succeeded Canon Chamberlain as vicar.

Her grave is in the churchyard near to the window put in to the memory of her eldest brother; and inside the church near that window she was ever wont to kneel.

¹ E. C. Ruckards, *Felicia Skene of Oxford A Memoir*.

² See p. 25.

³ She was almost invariably accompanied by her dog 'Urish,' who was left in charge of the housekeeper at the old vicarage while his mistress was in church.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER V

PLATE

LXXIII. *Detail of a conjectural map of early Oxford (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) drawn by Mr. Herbert Hurst in 1889 to accompany Andrew Clark's edition of Wood's 'Antiquities of the City.'*

Among the interesting points noted are the conjectured or actual sites of the wayside cross in the Hamel, S. Helen's Hall, Stockwell Street, Kingstock (now Hollybush Row), Rewley and Oseney Abbeys, Gloucester College, Plato's Well, Barbican Lane, Irishman Street, and Chevalier's Mill.

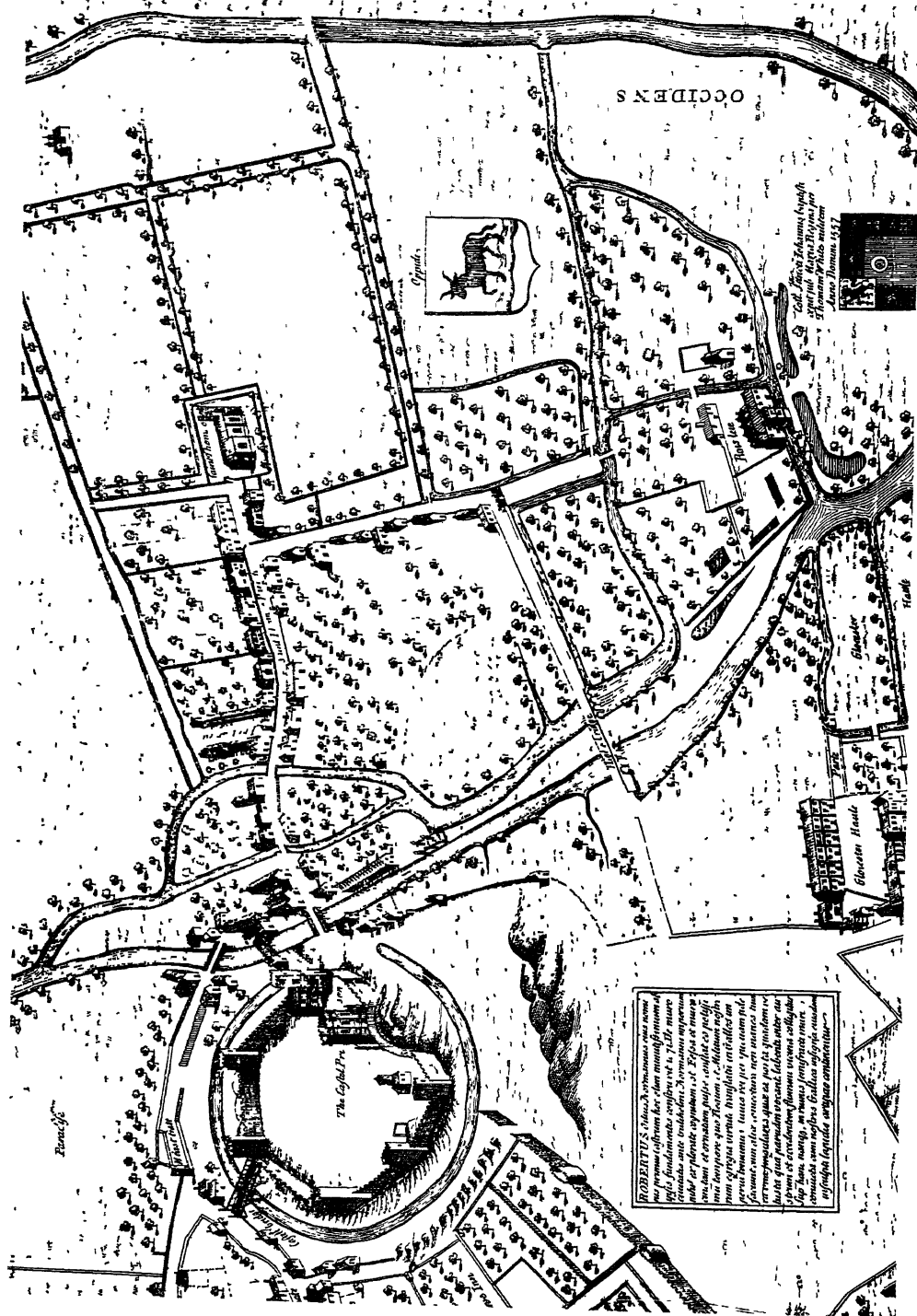


Plate LXXIV—St. Thomas' Parish, 1578.

PLATE

LXXIV. *Detail of a map drawn by Ralph Agas in 1578, and engraved by R. Whittlesey, in 1728.*

This is the earliest map of Oxford as a whole ; it is in the form of a bird's-eye view, and arranged with the north at the base and the west on the right hand.

It will be noticed that in High Street (here named S. Thomas' Parish¹) there are but few houses on the north side compared with the number on the south side. The Hamel, even at this early date, seems to be closely built over on both sides. In Hollybush Row there are no dwellings shown on the west side except at the south-west corner. There was then a thoroughfare west of S. Thomas' churchyard leading into what is now Mill Street, where Osney Abbey gatehouse stood at the south end. No houses are represented in Osney Lane, Church Street, nor Hythe Bridge Street. Warham Bank (Fisher Row) has several dwellings, all at the south end ; perhaps this was because the north end was occupied principally as a quay for the landing of goods carried by barges and boats.

The remains of Osney Abbey given in the map are shown separately on Plate lviii. Considerable buildings are represented on the Rois-leie (Rewley) site. At Gloucester Hall much of the original front seems lacking on the east, but a range of buildings are shown on both north and south sides. Notes concerning the Castle are given elsewhere (see Index).

¹ Even to-day one may hear this street called 'The Parish', e.g. some one may be told that Mr. Jones has removed from 'The Hamel' and now lives at No. 49 in 'The Parish,' by which term High Street would be implied.

PLATE

LXXV *Detail of a map drawn by David Loggan, 1675.*

This is another bird's-eye view taken from the north. Among the interesting details shown are the following : position of the wayside cross in the Hamel (probably there were remains of the base at this date) ; the circular road running north, south, and west of the church ; the house known as 'The Hole in the Wall,' in Hythe Bridge Street ; the remains of 'Ruly House' ; and the buildings in Middle and Upper Fisher Row. For the Castle see Chapter ii.

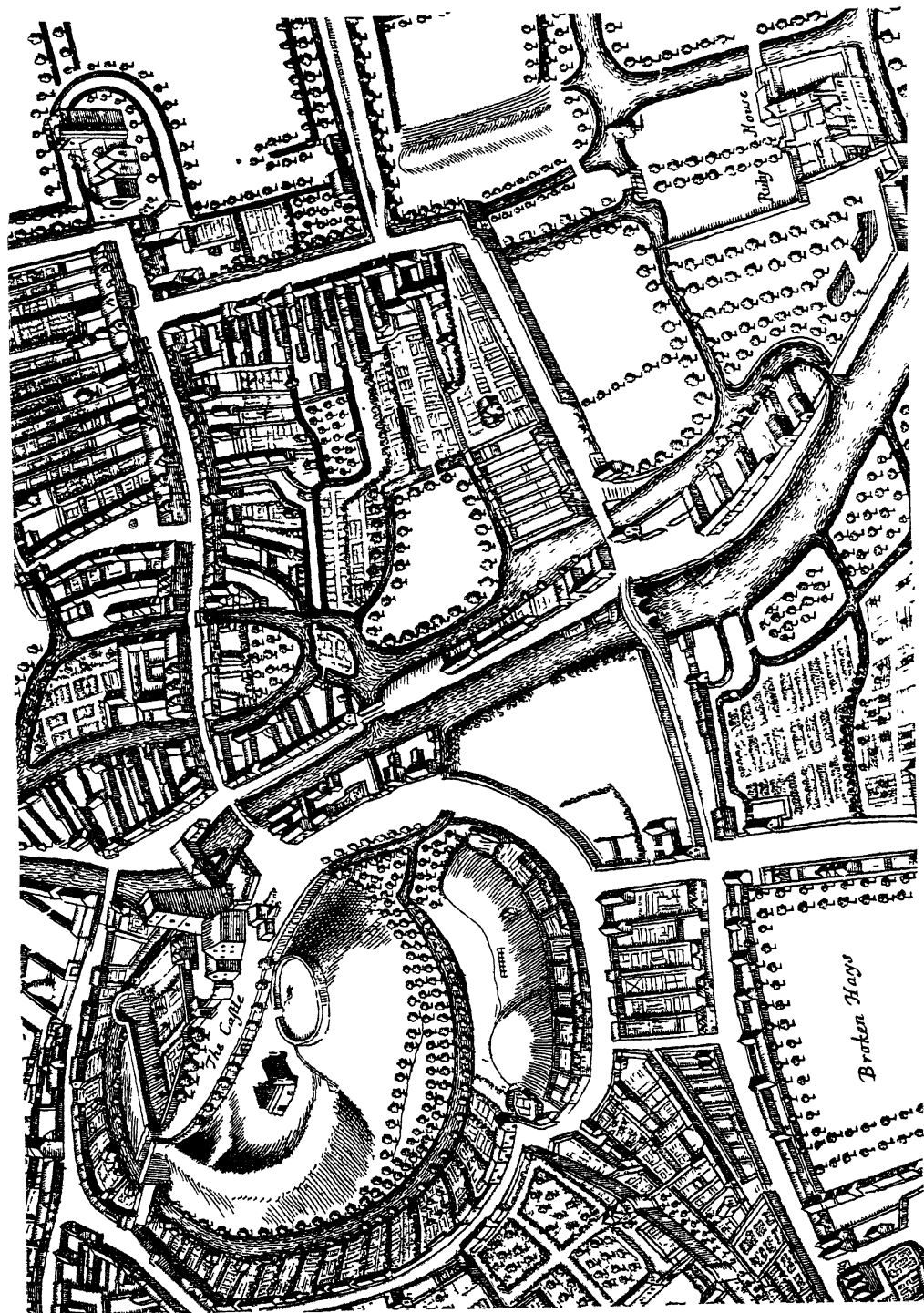


Plate LXXV—8. Thomas' Parish, 1675.

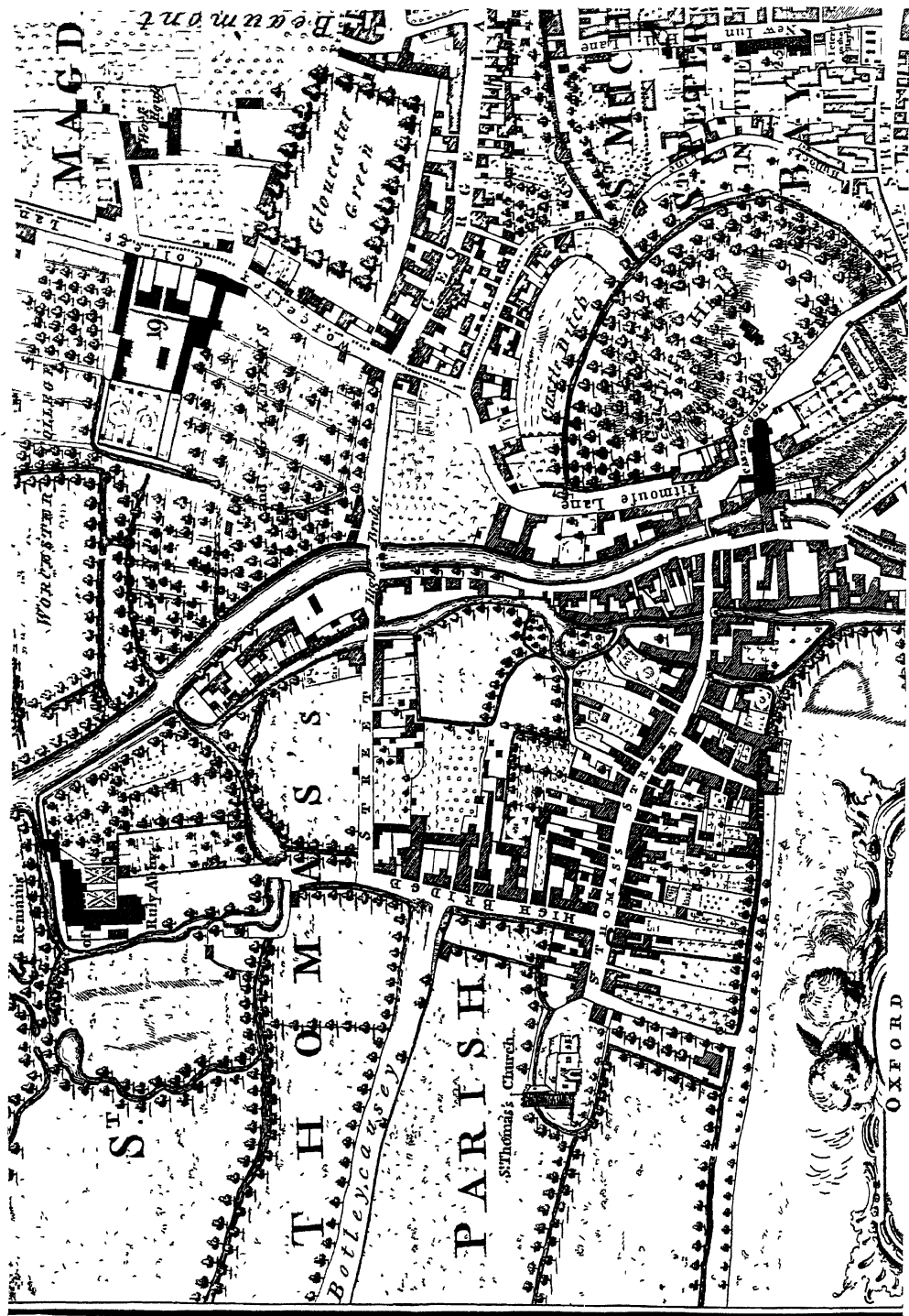


Plate LXXVI—S. Thomas' Parish, 1750.

PLATE

LXXVI. *Detail of a map by J. Taylor, published in 1750.*

This was drawn before canal or railway days, or Park End Street or New Road were made, and was the first large and accurate plan of the city, and the first in which the north is at the top. Hollybush Row, Rewley Road, and Hythe Bridge Street bear one common designation—'High Bridge Street.' Considerable remains of 'Ruly Abbey' are still shown. A thoroughfare from Castle Street, through the castle grounds to Quaking Bridge, is evident. The site of Abbey Road and Cripsey Road was then open fields alongside Botley 'Causey.' A considerable portion of the castle ditch then existed. The ground plan of S. George's Church is indicated.

PLATE

LXXVII. *Detail of a map by Robert S. Hoggar, published in 1850.*

The railway track from London to Rugby is shown on the west margin, and the site for the new 'proposed station' is marked.¹ No houses are shown west of the parish church. The site of Rewley is endorsed 'Rewley Gardens.' The mooring place of the 'Floating Chapel' is indicated to the north of Hythe Bridge. Church Street was then an open thoroughfare from High Street to Osney Lane.

¹ At this time the G.W.R. Station at Oxford was situated near Folly Bridge.

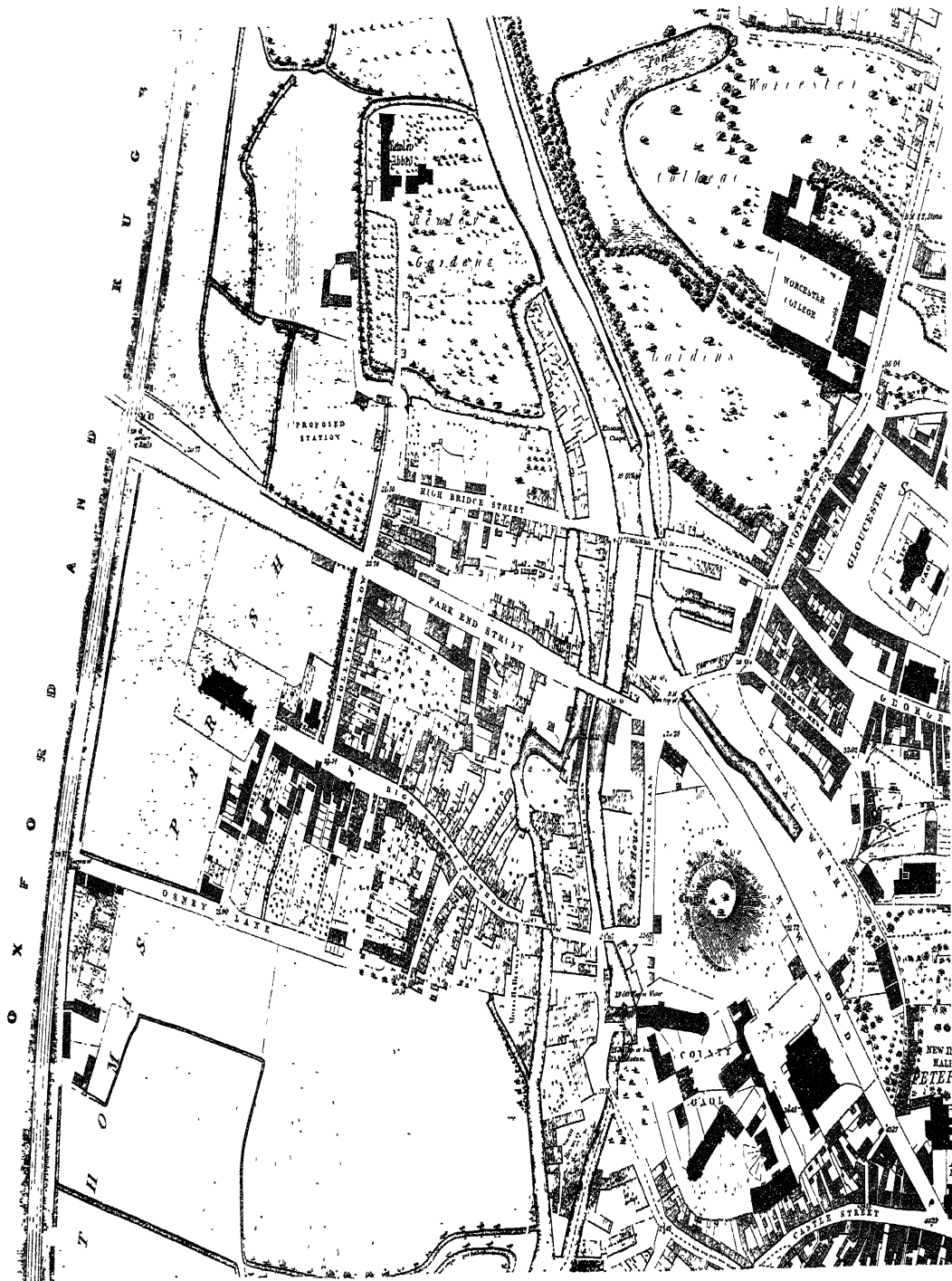


Plate LXXVII—St. Thomas' Parish, 1850.

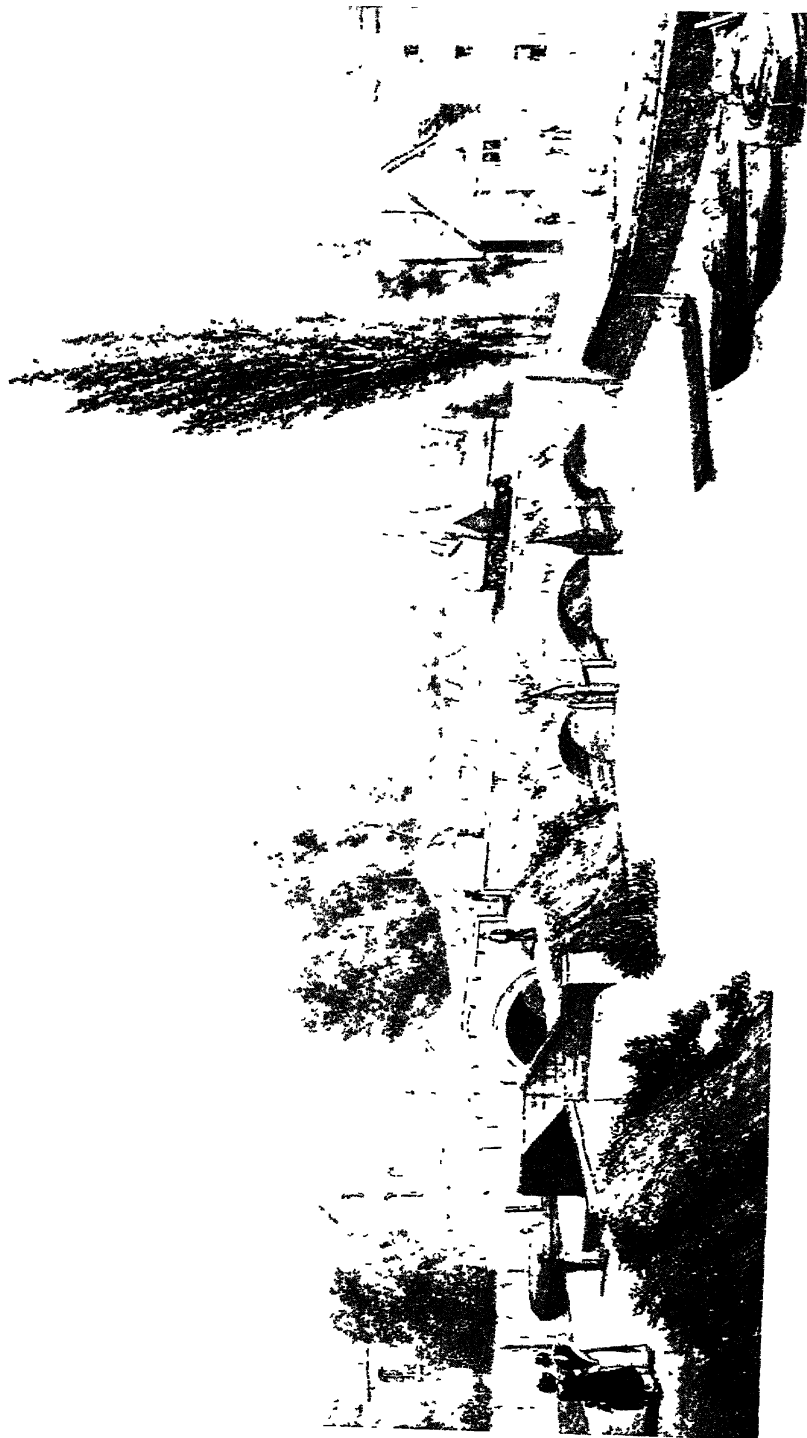


Plate LXXVIII—Hythe Bridge, 1822

PLATE

LXXVIII. *From a lithoprint of a drawing by W. Westall, A.R.A., 1822.*

The view-point is a little farther north than that for the picture given as Plate lxxx. The bridge over the canal on the left indicates modern construction compared with the bridge over the river ; it really was too, for the canal was made only some thirty years earlier, otherwise details do not differ materially from those of a drawing made thirteen years later (see Plate lxxx). The beast drawing the vehicle over the bridge looks not unlike an ox. Pacey's Bridge of one arch is shown in background on the right.

PLATE

LXXIX. *From an engraving printed in Skelton's 'Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata,' 1823.*

According to this picture the river was then sufficiently shallow to be used as a ford.

LXXX. *From a drawing by P. Dewint. Engraved by Henry Le Keux for the 'Oxford Almanack,' 1835.*

The north boundary wall shows signs of decay ; on the left the canal barge with horse and other accessories are very much the same as they are to-day, a hundred years later. The boat on the right is loaded with 'osier' work. For further details concerning this local industry, see p. 164.

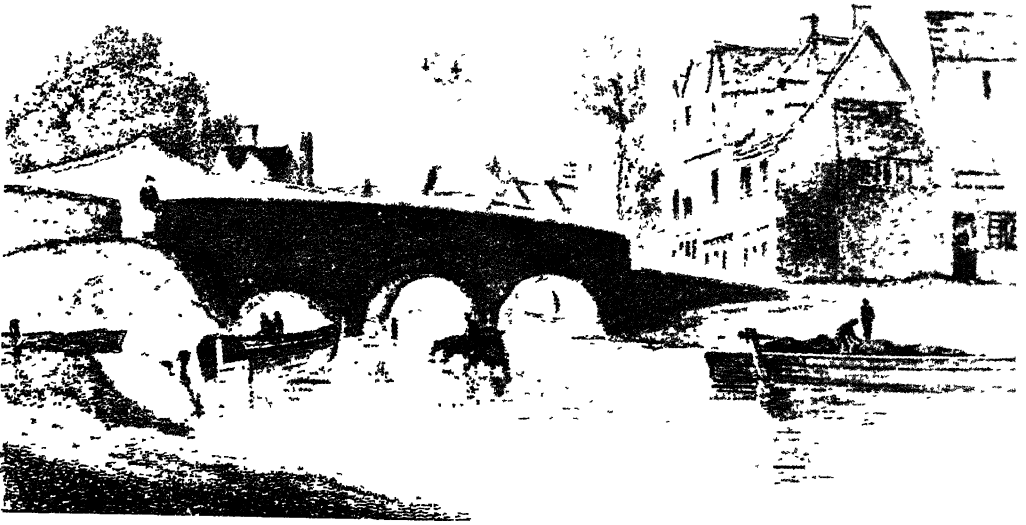


Plate LXXIX—Hythe Bridge, c. 1820.



Plate LXXX—Hythe Bridge, c. 1834.

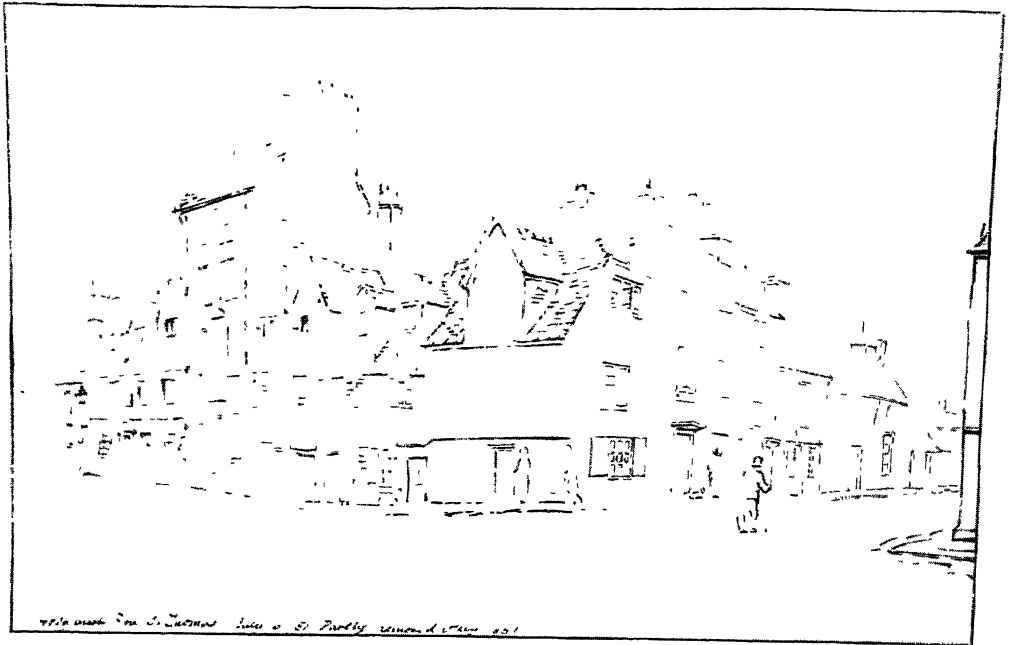


Plate LXXXI—The 'Hollybush' Inn, corner of Park End Street and Rewley Road, 1851.



Plate LXXXII—Hythe Bridge Street, c. 1860.

PLATE

LXXXI. *From a drawing by J. Fisher. In the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

Hollybush Row takes its name from the 'Hollybush' Inn, which used to stand at the corner of Park End Street and Rewley Road, now occupied by the Railway Hotel. The sign-board of the 'Hollybush' is discernible. It was a notable guard-house during the Civil War. See also p. 128.

LXXXII. *From a drawing by J. Fisher. In the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

The view is from the west, looking towards Hythe Bridge. The drawing is endorsed, 'Old Houses in Hythe Bridge Street. Taken down in 1864.' The inn on the left bears the sign, 'Nelson. J. Crippe,' and the house on the right, 'Engine . . . William Cook.'

PLATE

LXXXIII. From an engraving by G. Vertue, printed in Skelton's '*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*,' 1823.

A well-known caricature of the late eighteenth century, concerning mainly the famous Oxford diarist, T. Hearne, and his antiquarian friends.

'Antiquity Hall is a house¹ (standing back from the street) which heretofore was a public-house, known by the name of "The Hole in the Wall," or by its sign, "Whittington and his cat." The former name is acquired from the narrow doorway in the wall, which still serves as the entrance. The name of Antiquity Hall was either given to it on account of its real antiquity (of which its very appearance bears testimony) or by those persons who caused the original satirical print to be engraved.

'In the centre of the upper part of the print is a separate view of the wall and doorway, the lower part shortened, that the view of the interior may not be obstructed. On the left is another separate view representing the pavement of sheeps trotters' (Skelton, *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*).

Concerning the latter the following story is related: 'Here [at 'The Hole in the Wall'] that laborious Antiquarian, Mr. Thomas Hearne, one evening suffered himself to be overtaken in Liquor. It happened that the Kitchen where he and his Companion were sitting, was paved with "Sheeps Trotters," neatly disposed in various compartments. After one pipe, Mr. Hearne, consistently with his usual Gravity and Sobriety, proposed to depart; but his Friend, who was inclined to enjoy more of his Company, artfully observed, that the Floor on which they were then sitting, was no less than an original "tessellated Roman Pavement." Out of respect to Classic Ground, and on recollection that the "Stunsfield Roman Pavement," on which he had just published a Dissertation, was dedicated to "Bacchus," our Antiquary cheerfully complied; and enthusiastic Transport seized his Imagination; he fell on his knees, and kissed the sacred earth, on which, in a few hours, and after a few tankards, by a sort of Sympathetic Attraction, he was obliged to repose for some part of the evening' (T. Warton, *Companion to the Guide*, 1751).

'Hearne was obliged to leave the Bodleian, where he was assistant keeper, because he would not take the oath of allegiance to George I. Afterwards, when he lived in S. Edmund Hall, he often walked to . . . a tavern called Antiquity Hall, with the sign of Whittington and his cat. . . . Here he met many young gentlemen of Christ Church and other *honest* antiquaries to chat over pot and pipe. Honest in Hearne meant Jacobite, and the word has a political rather than a moral significance' (H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography*). See also p. 129.

¹ It is distinctly shown in Loggan's map, 1675, Plate lxxv.

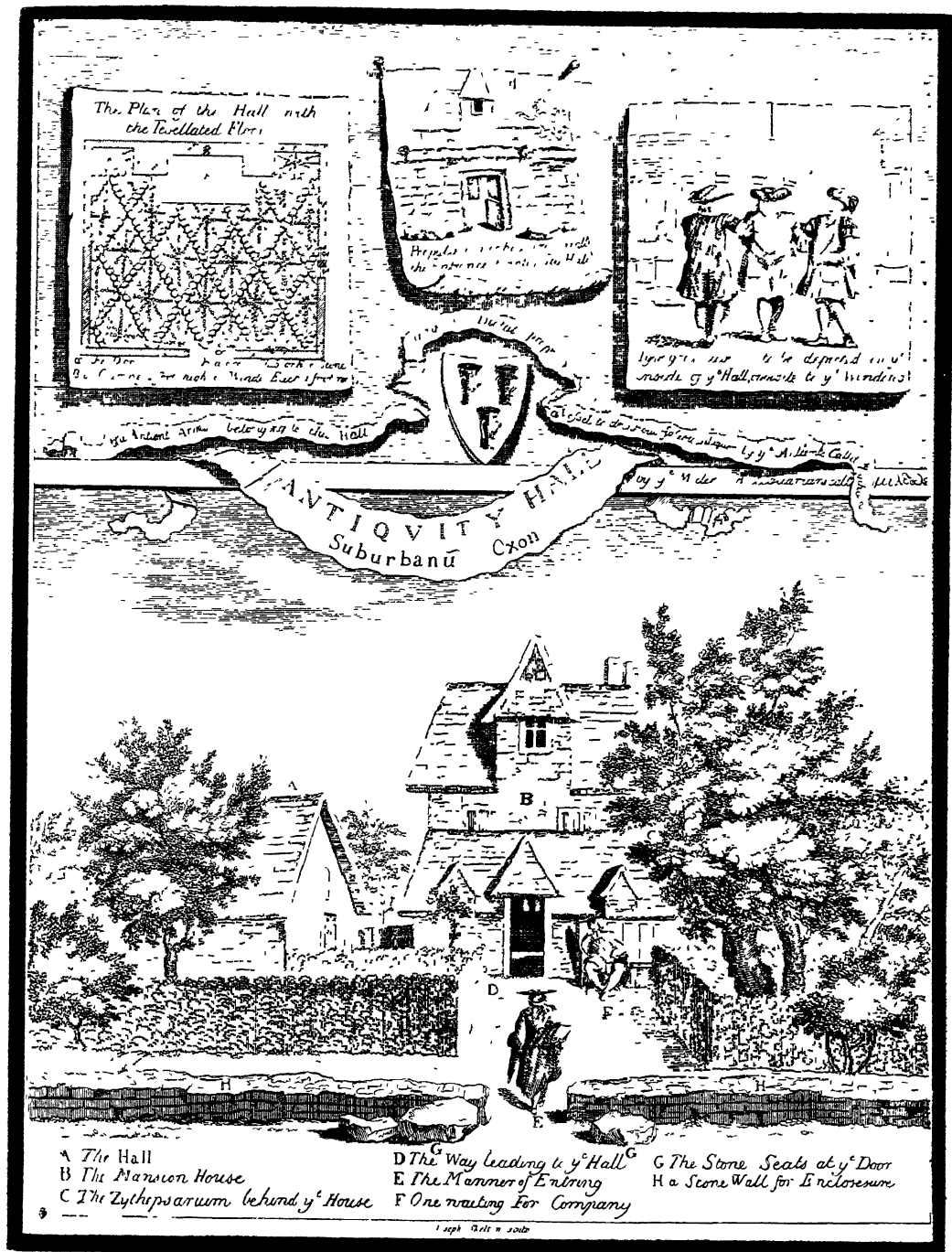


Plate LXXXIII—'Antiquity Hall' or 'The Hole in the Wall,' Hyshe Bridge Street, c. 1750.



Plate LXXXIV—Turnpike Gate, east of Osney Bridge, c. 1803.

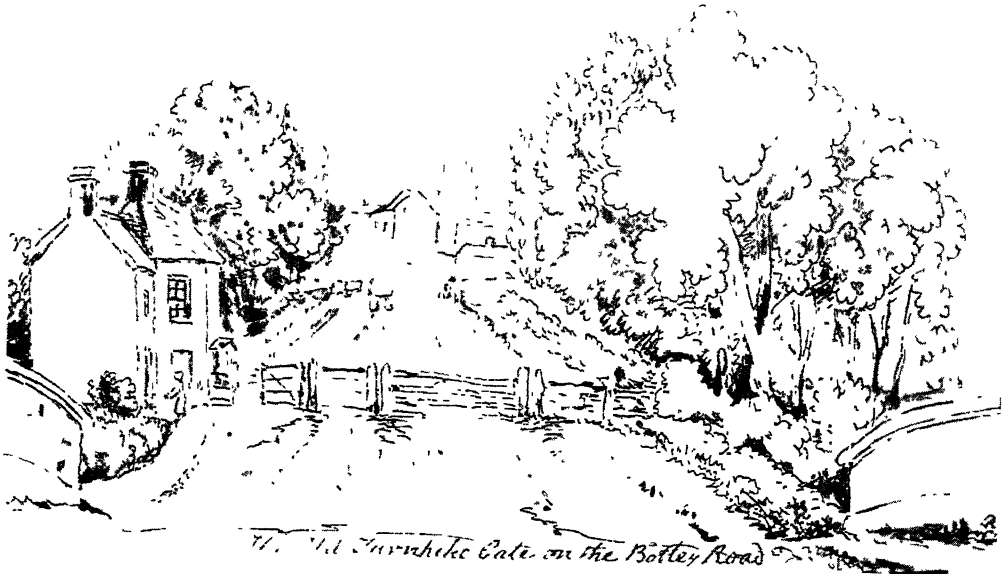


Plate LXXXV—Turnpike Gate, east of Osney Bridge, 1830.

PLATE

LXXXIV. *From a drawing by an unknown artist, c. 1803. In the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

LXXXV. *From a drawing by J. Fisher, c. 1830. In the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

Both views represent the original site of the gate near to the present 'Old Gate House' Inn. Apparently the 'turnpike' was first erected soon after 1766,¹ and continued at that spot for about a hundred years, until December 31, 1868, when it was removed to the corner of Binsey Lane, owing, presumably, to the growing district of 'Osney Town.'² Then, in 1877, because of the building extensions at New Botley, the gate was removed further westward, at the foot of Cumnor Hill. In 1880, under an Act of Parliament, it ceased altogether.

¹ TURNPIKE ROAD OVER BOTLEY CAUSEWAY. 'We are assured that the utmost efforts will be used for immediately obtaining an act to open a great turnpike road from this city westward over Botley Causeway. It is said that the Earl of Abingdon proposes to build a bridge at his own expenses, over the Isis at Eynsham Ferry; and a subscription is opened towards widening and repairing Botley Causeway. We have not yet seen the list of subscribers, but we have authority to say that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, the Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon, and the Right Honourable the Earl Harcourt are at the head of it' (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Nov. 16, 1766).

² On the bridge near North Street is a plate bearing these words.

PLATE

LXXXVI. *From a drawing by P. Dewint, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Printed in the 'Oxford Almanack,' 1851.*

The bridge in the foreground is, apparently, what used to be the third from the station going westward, which was demolished in the improved and widened alterations of Botley Road, *c.* 1924. The tower of S. Thomas' Church may be discerned in the foreground just below the castle. At the time of the execution of the drawing the road would be busy with the mail-coaches to and from Cheltenham and the West Country.



Plate LXXXVI—Boiley Road, 1851.

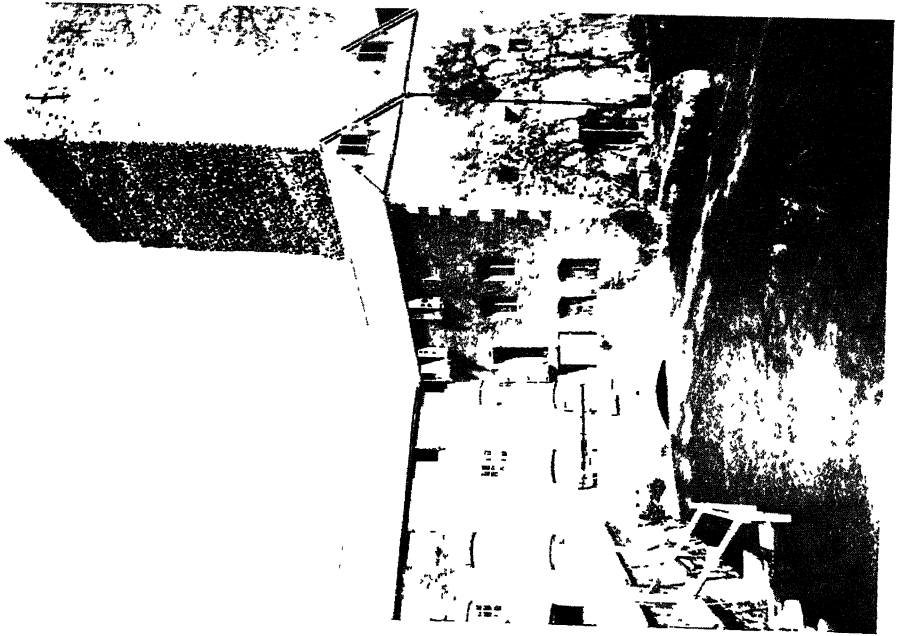


Plate LXXXVII—Castle Mill, 1920.



Plate LXXXVIII—Castle Mill, c. 1820.

PLATE

LXXXVII. *From a private photograph.*LXXXVIII. *From a drawing by N. O. Greene.*

It is a rarity for a parish to be able to claim within its borders a mill that has been working for over a thousand years, yet such is the claim of S. Thomas' with regard to the castle mill. Although the mill has been rebuilt many times, it is quite possible that portions of the foundation masonry date back to Saxon days. For further details, see p. 121.

PLATE

LXXXIX. *From a drawing by A. Pugin.*

This is taken from Quaking Bridge. The double-gabled house on the left existed quite late in the nineteenth century.

XC. *From a drawing by F. Mackenzie, in the Bodleian Library.*

The following interesting note on Castle Bridge occurs in a recent book on *Oxford City Properties*:¹

'In the rental of 1693 and all subsequent rentals, there is a payment of 6s. 8d. a year from the churchwardens or the overseers of the parish of S. Thomas' towards the repair of Castle Bridge. The origin of this payment has not yet been discovered, but there are two entries which have a bearing on it. On November 22, 1621, the City undertook the repair of Hythe Bridge, but would not undertake the repair of the bridge below Castle Mill; they were, however, willing to contribute £5. Also on February 15, 1659, "it is agreed, according to an act and agreement of the Justice of the Peace and of the Common Councill of the City, that the parishioners of S. Thomas' shall be responsible for keeping in repair the bridge below the Castle Mills, the City contributing yearly 6s. 8d. towards the expense." Subsequently the positions must have been reversed; the City undertook the repair of the bridge and the parishioners of S. Thomas' contributed 6s. 8d. yearly. The money was paid by the churchwardens as late as 1906, when it was deemed to be a payment for "a piece of land at Castle Bridge"; in 1923 the land is specified as being on the "north side of High Street, S. Thomas'", but this is not the account given in the early rentals.'²

¹ By H. E. Salter, for the Oxford Historical Society

² A former churchwarden of S. Thomas' recalls that the annual payment demanded was for 'land at Castle Bridge.' He once pressed the city authorities to justify their precept by offering some explanation of the origin of the payment and to indicate the portion of land in question, as seemingly the parish was paying an annual sum without knowing precisely what it was for. The city eventually replied that no information about the origin of the payment could then be traced. Subsequently an explanation was offered to the effect that the rent was connected with 'Church House' property near Bookbinders' Bridge for a strip of land given up by the city when the bridge and street were widened. This, however, was never very convincing, and apparently Mr. Salter is also dissatisfied with the new claim.



Plate LXXXV—Castle Tower and Mill from the north, c. 1850



Plate XC—Castle (or New) Bridge, south of the Mill, c. 1840.

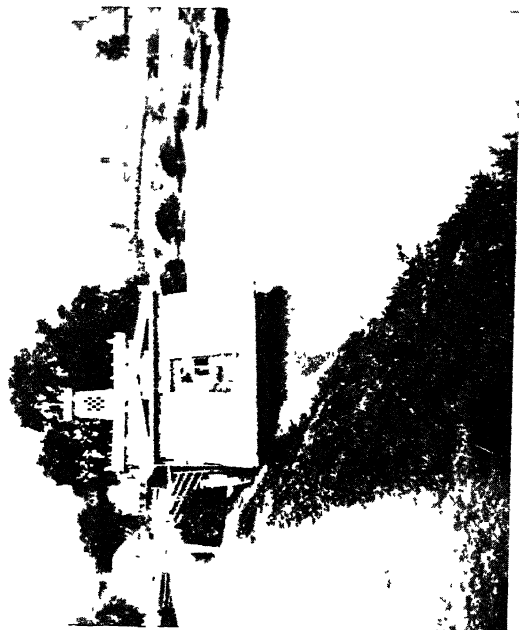


Plate XCI—The Floating Chapel for Boatmen, c. 1850



Plate XCII—Lower (or South) Fisher Row, c. 1815.

PLATE

XCI. *From a drawing by an unknown artist. Copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

In 1839 this 'floating chapel' was provided, it is generally understood, through the generosity of Henry Ward, coal merchant at the Canal Wharf. Its purpose was to help the vicar of the parish in a practical way to meet the needs for spiritual administrations to the canal bargemen. The boat foundered about 1868, and soon a more permanent building was erected in Hythe Bridge Street. See p. 24.

XCII. *From a drawing by W. Turner.*

The view-point is near Quaking Bridge, looking towards the north, and represents what is now called Lower Fisher Row. The arches of both Pacey's Bridge and Hythe Bridge may be seen in the distance.

PLATE

XCIII and XCIV. *From copyright photographs by Henry W. Taunt.*

Fifty years ago, or more, an extensive industry in 'osier' work was being carried on in Upper Fisher Row. The business included cultivating the osiers, as well as converting them into marketable goods of various kinds. The proprietor of the business was Mr. James Beesley, who is seen on the right in Plate xciii. He was of unusual stature, standing some 6 feet 3 inches high, with proportionate girth, and was a member of the family of Beesleys who for generations have been notable watermen and fishermen. The workers in the first picture are engaged in stripping the bark from the osiers, leaving the branches white, before making them into hampers, baskets, fish-traps, etc. In the second picture the workers are sorting the green osiers according to length, tying them into bundles for the soaking process necessary before stripping off the bark. The bundles were securely placed upright in the river and remained there until the branches commenced to 'shoot' at top and bottom. They were then ready for the stripping, as illustrated in the first picture. The larger osiers were selected for hampers and large fish-traps, the medium size for baskets and smaller fish-traps, while the smallest were found useful for eel and crayfish baskets, much used by freemen (young and old) in those days. Rushes were also cultivated and dried for the purpose of seats for church chairs and plain rush baskets.



Plate XCIII—The Osier Industry in Upper Fisher Row, c. 1880.



Plate XCIV—The Osier Industry in Upper Fisher Row, c. 1880.



Plate XCV—North (or Upper) Fisher Row, 1900.

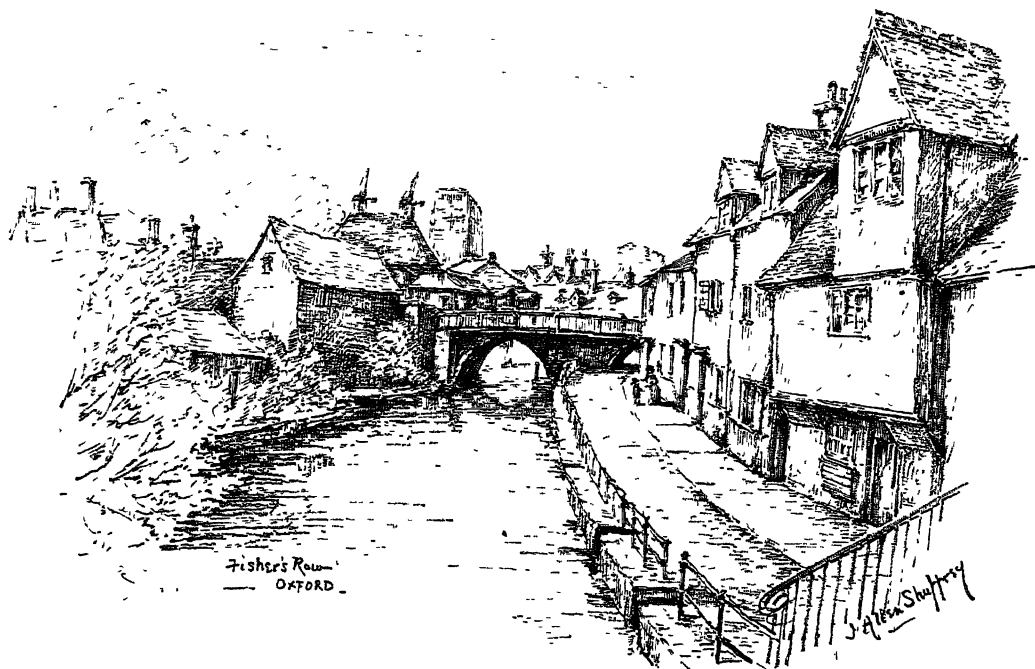


Plate XCVI—Middle Fisher Row, c. 1900.

PLATE

XCV. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

This represents the northern end of Fisher Row, the view-point being Hythe Bridge. It was at the extreme end of this ground where the 'osier' industry was carried on, as illustrated in Plates xciii and xciv. Near here, too, was the site of Rewley Abbey, still marked by the water-gate given in Plate lxx.

XCVI. *From a pen and ink drawing by Mr. J. Allen Shuffrey, by the courtesy of the artist.*

This attractive and artistic drawing represents that part of the Fisher Row that stands between Hythe Bridge and Pacey's Bridge. The latter bridge was replaced by a wider and more horizontal structure in 1924.

PLATE

XCVII. *From a photograph of a plan in the Bodleian Library. By the courtesy of the Rev. H. E. Salter.*

The drawing is endorsed, 'The description and citation of Waram Banck, with the rivers, bridges, buildings, on each side.' The letter A, on the north side of S. George's Church, indicates the site of the churchyard. The letter B represents the position of 'a peec of ground which was of late time cutt out of the churthyard where now runeth a streame.' The 'ould way to Ruley' is seen on the extreme north (at foot) of map; the small bridge to the west of Hythe Bridge is called 'Quackes Bridge'; the position of Plato's Well is indicated, and the names of several householders are given.

•

The description and situation of Waram Banck wth the rivers bridges buildings on each side the star A on the north side of S^t Georges Church was the Church yard the star B a piece of ground w^{as} of late time cutt out of the churchyard where now runeth a streame

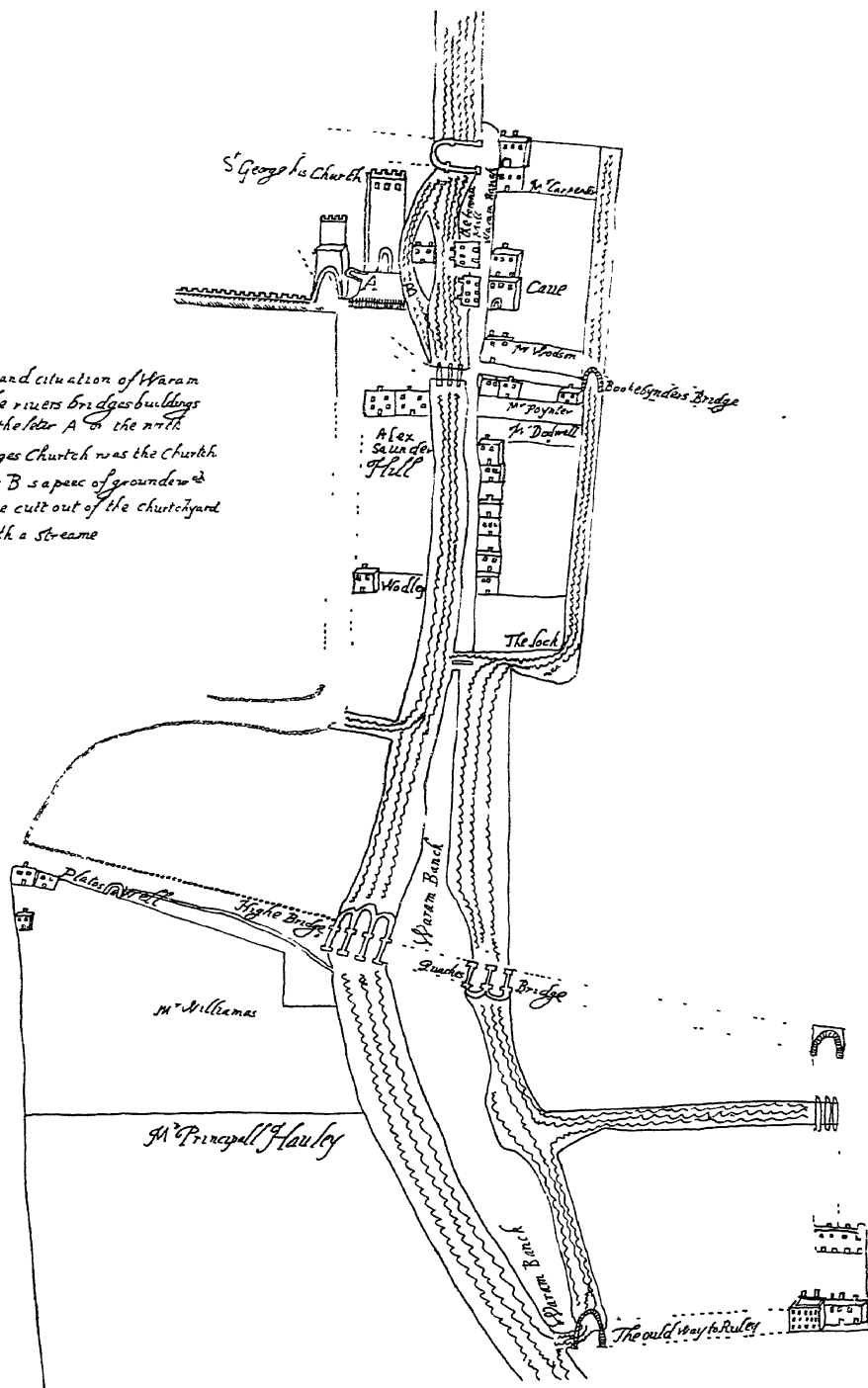


Plate XCVII—' Waram Banck ' and surrounding site, c. 1616

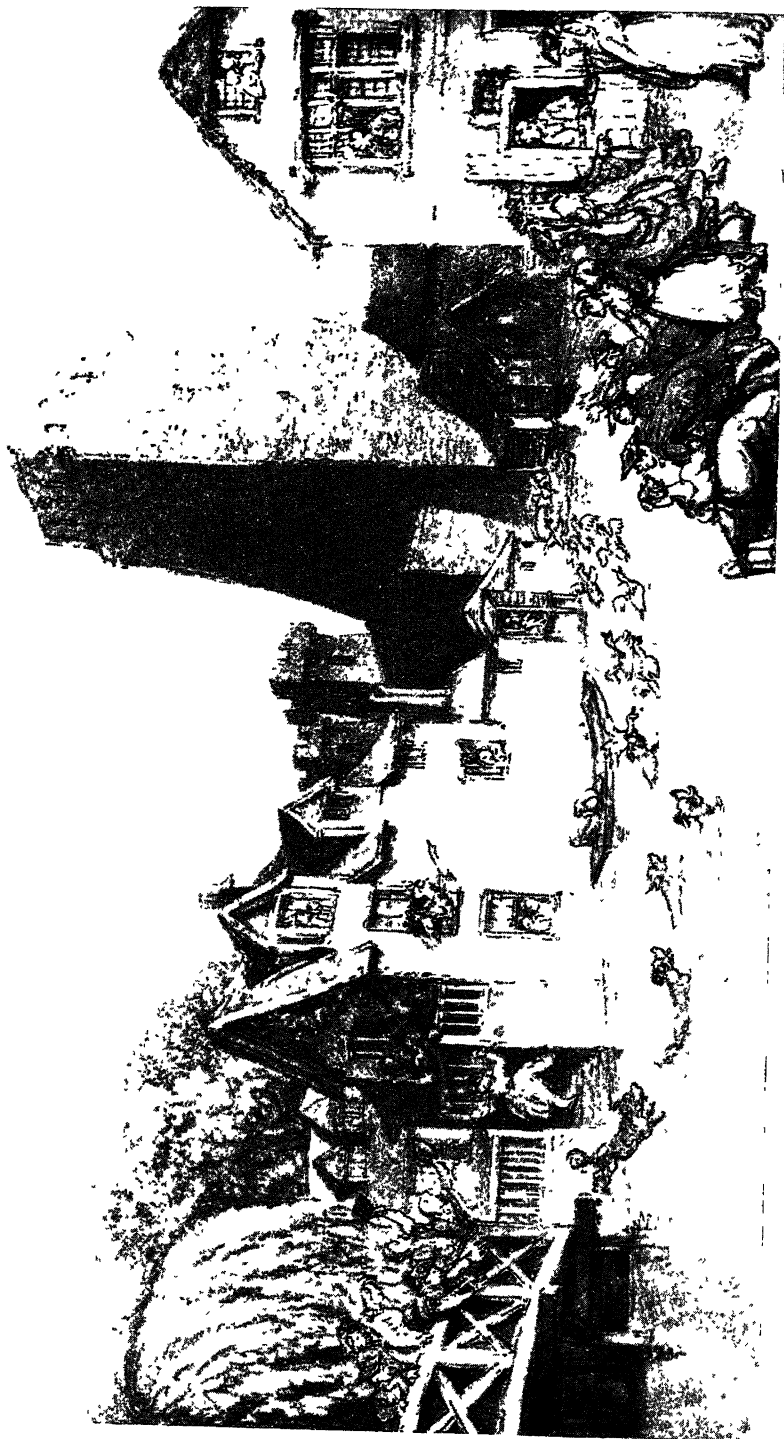


Plate XCVIII—A 'Varsity Duck Hunt at Quaking Bridge, c. 1810.

PLATE

XCVIII. *From a caricature by T. Rowlandson. Printed in Hamilton Gibbs' 'Rowlandson's Oxford.'*

This drawing by the famous caricaturist is interesting, because it not only represents one of the amusements or recreations of the undergraduates of the period, but also provides trustworthy details of the architecture of the buildings at the site.

Mr. Gibbs says of Georgian Oxford men, that 'it would be impossible to find a set of men in any century more ready for deeds of daring do. . . . They broke rules and defied statutes with a zest that suggests anarchism. They sped like hares down back alleys and scaled the high college walls like monkeys to avoid a conversation with the Proctors and their bulldogs. They sallied forth in trencher and gown, the insignia of their allegiance to *Alma mater*, and in sheer high spirits set themselves to bring about a fight with the jeering townees. Back to back they fought against all odds, recking little of bleeding noses and broken pates. If they drank too freely and encouraged the toasts, the blame was not entirely theirs. They did but follow the fashion of the times. Their password was thoroughness' (A. Hamilton Gibbs, *Rowlandson's Oxford*, pp. 67-8).

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PLATE

XCIX. *From an old engraving.*

The bridge is here represented as being constructed of timber, and it was called 'Wooden Bridge' in the Survey of 1770. The old 'Swan' Inn is shown on the right. See also p. 137.

C. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

The site was once wholly within the castle area, and when the canal was made the last vestiges of the castle moat disappeared. Part of the old wall of Bulwark's Lane can be seen towards the right, just below the Wesleyan School and the tower of the modern S. Peter-le-Bailey Church. The boundary of the parish runs through the wharf. See also p. 120.

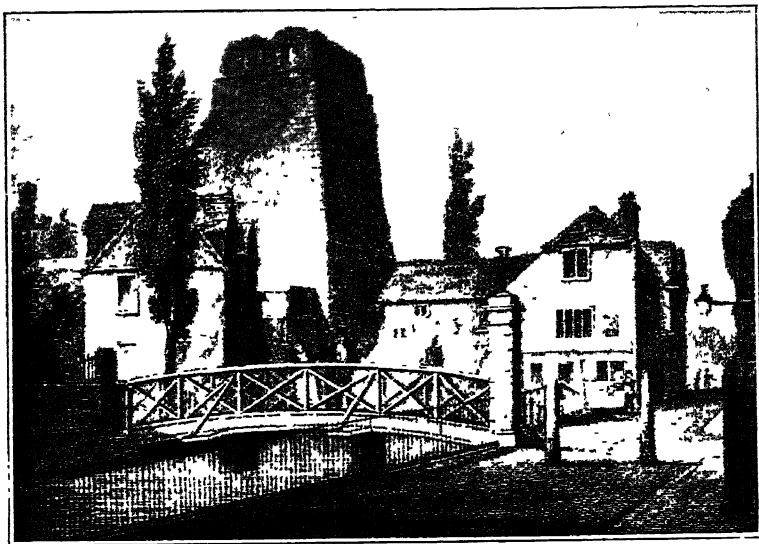


Plate XCIX—Quaking Bridge and ‘The Swan’ Inn, c. 1821.



Plate C—Canal Wharf, 1927.



Plate CI—High Street, S. Thomas'. Floods, c. 1894.



Plate CII—Floods near Railway Stations, 1875.

PLATE

CI. *From a photograph, by the courtesy of Mr. H. Minn.*

Although the date of the photograph is somewhat uncertain it is conjectured that it represents a high flood which occurred in 1894.¹ A by-stream of the Thames runs along the rear of the courts on the right and any overflow soon makes its way into the main street. It will be noticed that the water extends right across the High Street and into the Hamel (on the left).

¹ HEAVY RAINS AND EXTENSIVE FLOODS IN THE CITY. 'Unusual and deplorable state of affairs prevails in S. Thomas', where some of the streets are submerged. The High Street is nearly a foot deep in water, and is rendered impassable for pedestrians. The houses in Fisher Row, situated as they are between the old river and the back stream, have fared very badly, and their inhabitants are in a very unenviable plight. The pathway in front has completely disappeared, and the river rushes over the spot to the depth, in some places, of a foot or more. Access to the houses, which are, of course, flooded, is gained by planks, which are fixed in position above water by a rough scaffolding' (*Oxford Times*, Nov. 17, 1894).

CII. *From a copyright photograph by Henry W. Taunt.*

'The heavy and continuous rain of last Saturday (November 13, 1875) had the effect of causing a rapid rise in both the valleys of the Thames and the Cherwell, and for miles the country on Sunday morning was in some place inundated to a much greater depth than has been known almost within the memory of man, and more than in the great flood of 1852. . . . S. Thomas', Osney, and all the low-lying places were flooded, while the roadway by the Great Western Railway bridge at the Botley Road was flooded to a considerable distance on each side between nine and ten feet, thus rendering the road impassable.

'A punt was used at first for the conveyance of passengers by train to the station, but on Monday blocks of timber were laid down to enable passengers to get to the up-platform.

'The traffic along the Botley Road had to go over the Railway crossing, and the sight altogether was a very extraordinary one, hundreds of people being congregated on the spot looking at it. The water in the tunnel under the station was several feet in depth, and the wooden flooring was torn from its position and floating on top' (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Nov. 20, 1875).

PLATE

CIII. *From a drawing by J. C. Buckler, in the British Museum.*

Although the artist has not left any definite information as to its site beyond 'Old house in S. Thomas' Parish,' it is conjectured that it stood at the north-east corner of the Hamel. Two details tend to confirm this: (i) it is known that there was a stream near this corner in 1770, and (ii) it is clear from maps that 'The White Horse' Inn extended a good way across the north entrance to the Hamel, and the house depicted here on the left corresponds to that fact.

CIV. *From a drawing by G. Pyne, c. 1875.*

This ancient house stood at the south end of the Hamel until about 1880. At its demolition some interesting carvings were found and traditionally understood to be preserved at Christ Church. Some of the floors were paved with knuckle-bones. In its last years the house met the requirements of poor travellers with lodgings for the night. It was sometimes known as the 'Court House,' but whether it served as the Oseney Court is not known. The Abbot of Oseney possessed his own feudal court for administering a district extending from the westernmost point of the abbey precincts, and eastwards to Bookbinders' Bridge. In this area the city had no judicial authority in those days.

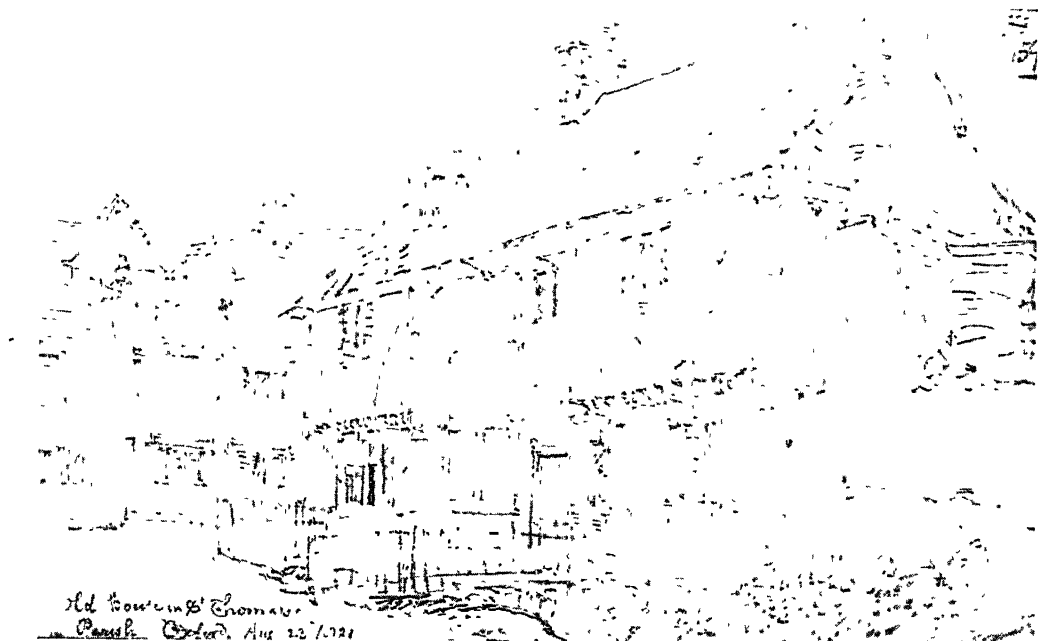


Plate CIII—Old House, (?) north-east corner of the Hamel, 1821.

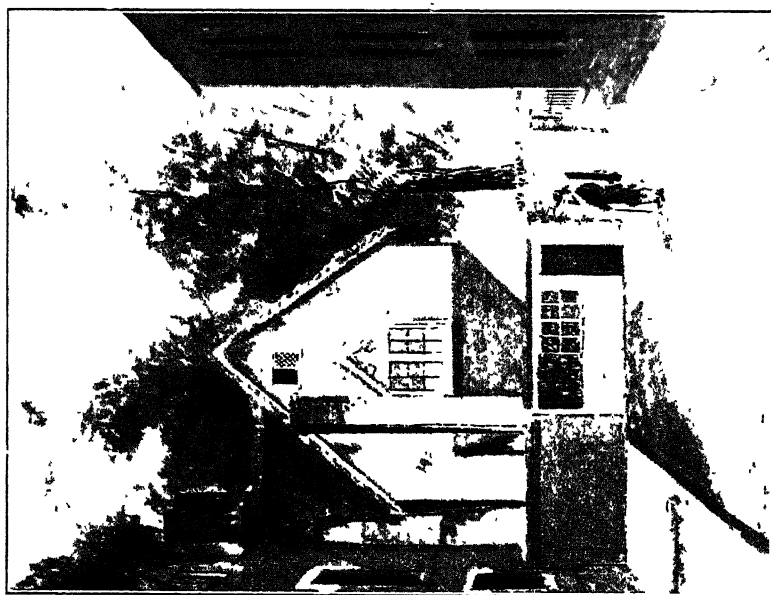


Plate CIV—Old House, south end of Hamel, 1875.

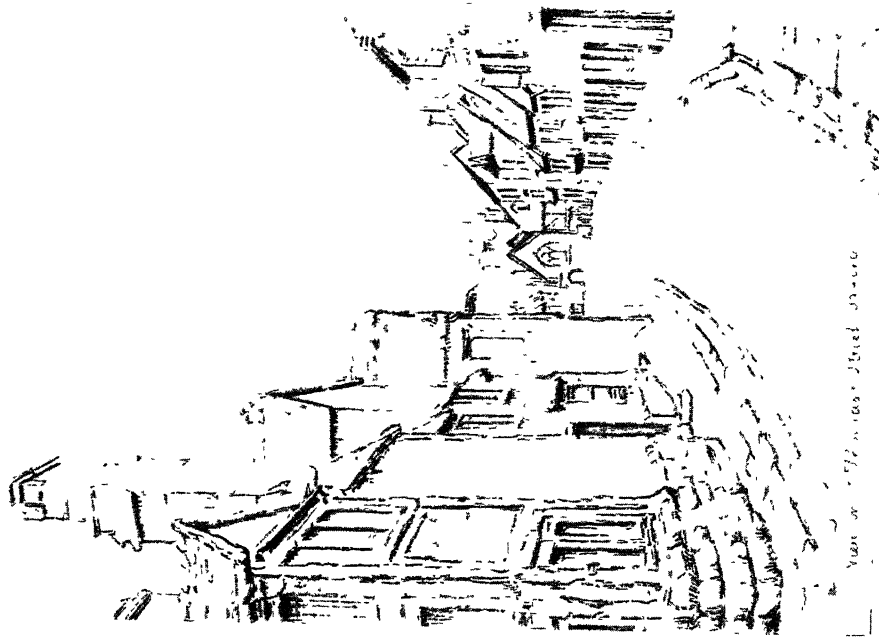


Plate CV—High Street, S. Thomas, c. 1820.



Plate CVI—Old House in High Street, S. Thomas, 1920

PLATE

CV. *From a drawing by J. C. Buckler, in the British Museum.*

An interesting sketch giving some idea of the artistic and charming houses which existed in this old street a hundred years ago. See p. 125.

CVI. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

This represents, possibly, the oldest house now existing in High Street, S. Thomas'. It was formerly known as 'The Plasterers' Arms' Inn, and part of its sign (models of a plasterer's tools) are still to be seen on the front.

PLATE

CVII. *Coombe House, 1821. From a drawing by J. C. Buckler, in the British Museum.*

CVIII. *Coombe House, 1921. From a photograph by J. Soame.*

CIX. *John Coombe. From portrait, printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' January, 1809.
Photograph by the courtesy of Mr. H. Minn.*

See p. 126.



Plate CVII—Coombe House and entrance to Churchyard, 1821.



Plate CVIII—Coombe House, 1921.



Plate CIX—John Coombe, c. 1800.



Plate CX—Osney Lane and entrance to the Hamel, c. 1820



Plate CXI—Osney Lane and entrance to the Hamel, c. 1820.

PLATE

CX. *From a drawing by an unknown artist, in the Percy Manning Collection at the Bodleian Library.*

CXI. *From a drawing by H. Hurst, after the original by J. Fisher.*

Osney Lane was the most direct way from the castle and the city to the famous abbey, as will be seen from the earliest maps (Plate lxxiii). The house represented at the end of the lane in the background in both plates is the west view of the house given in Plate civ, and there represents the north view. The bridge over the stream on the north side of the lane is called 'Amill' Bridge in some eighteenth-century accounts. Apparently the way over the bridge, as well as through the posts farther east, both led into the Hamel. The field on the other side of the stone wall on the right was known as the 'Ox-Pens,' a name associated with the site even to-day. The stone wall reached from one end of the lane to the other until about 1875, or later.

PLATE

CXII. *From an engraving by J. Gillray.*

'Mother Goose' was a far-famed street character of Oxford in the latter half of the eighteenth century. She attended most of the principal inns, but used generally to sit at 'The Star'¹ gate in a heavy cloak, ruffled cap, and trim little hat, ready to curtsy a welcome to the coaches as they rolled up one after another and to present her basket of flowers to pretty ladies within. She was a great favourite with 'Varsity men and admitted to a sort of privileged familiarity with distinguished persons, who sometimes called her 'Flora.' She occasionally did business with people like the Prince Regent, who generally flung her a guinea for a bouquet. Her proper name was Mrs. Rebecca Howes, a parishioner of S. Thomas', and she was buried in the churchyard on November 13, 1818, aged eighty-one.

¹ Now the 'Clarendon' in Cornmarket

CXIII. *From a traditional portrait.*

For details concerning Anne Kendall, see pp. 135-6

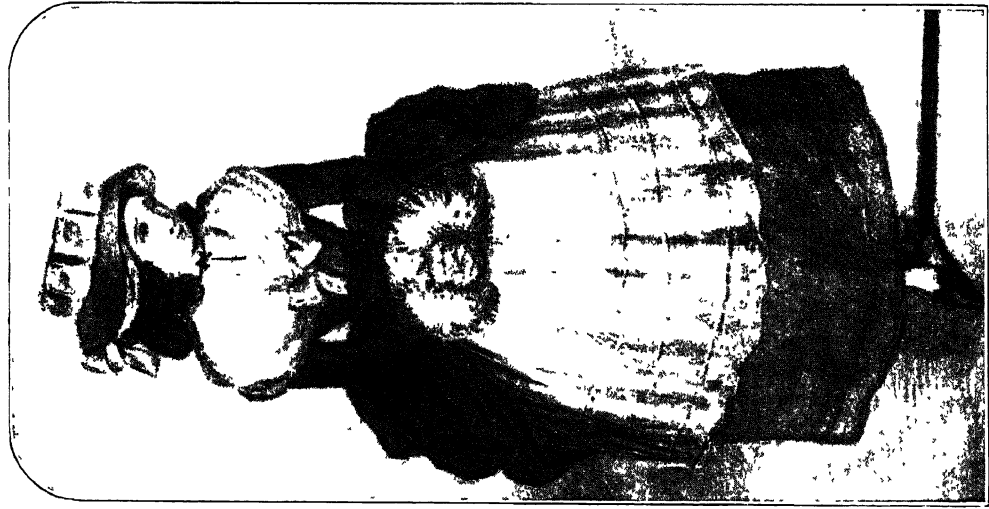


Plate CXIII—Anne Kendall, c. 1700.



Plate CXII—Mother Goose, c. 1810.



Plate CXV—Ayes' Yard, High Street, S. Thomas', 1927.

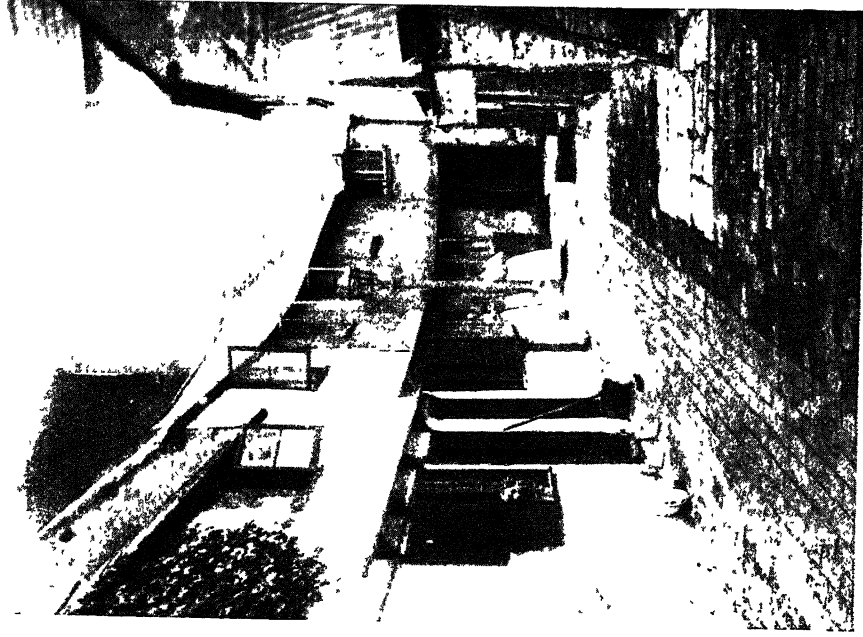


Plate CXIV—Peacock Yard, High Street, S. Thomas', c 1912

PLATE

CXIV. *From a photograph by H. Minn, c. 1907.*

CXV. *From a photograph by J. Soame, 1927.*

These represent typical views of closely packed tenements. For further details concerning the yards and courts, see p. 143.

PLATE

CXVI. *From a photogravure portrait, printed in E. C. Rickards' 'Felicia Skene: A Memoir,' 1902.*

For further details about Miss Skene, see pp. 144-8.

CXVII. *From a photograph by A. and G. Taylor*

See pp. 124-5.

CXVIII. *From an unfinished portrait by Charles Furse, now in the Hall of Worcester College, and printed in 'Memorials of C. H. O. Daniel.' By permission of Mrs. Daniel.*

For notes concerning Dr. Daniel and the Daniel Press, see pp. 132-4.



Plate CXVI—Felicia M. F. Skene, c. 1880.



Plate CXVII—J. Dennis Haycroft, c. 1870.



Plate CXVIII—Dr. C. H. O. Daniel, c. 1904.



Plate CXX—Charles Morgan, c. 1880.

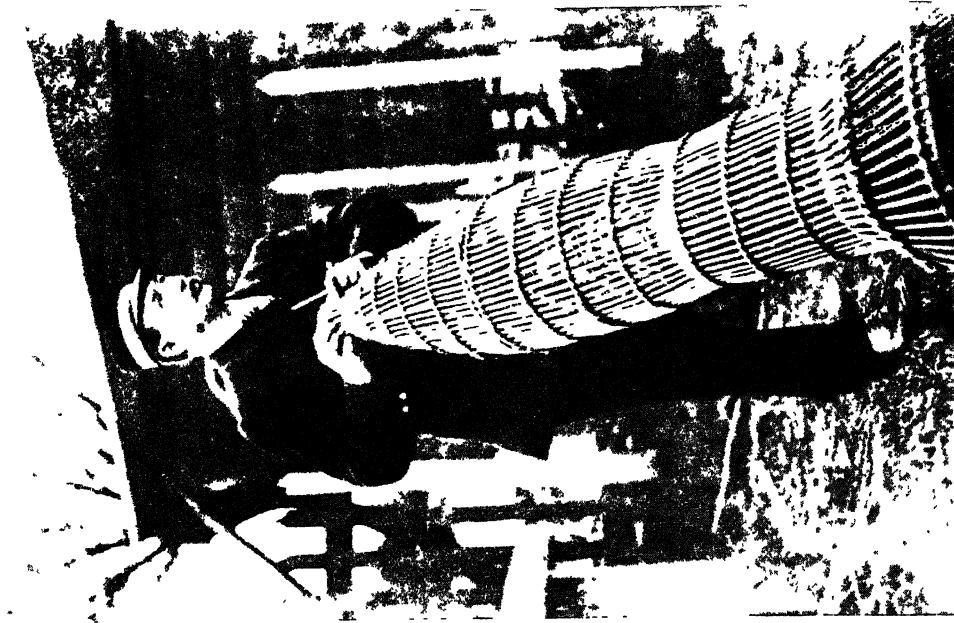


Plate CXIX—Abel Beesley, c. 1918.

Plate CXIX—Abel Beesley, c. 1918

PLATE

CXIX. *From a photograph by Hills & Saunders.*

See pp. 123–4.

CXX. *From a private photograph.*

See p. 143.

Plate CXX—Charles Morgan, c. 1880.

■

VI. GLOUCESTER COLLEGE

(Also known, or described in documents, as the Convent of S. Benedict, S. Benedict's College, Priory of the Abbey of Malmesbury, S. John Baptist's Hall, Gloucester Hall, Greek Hall, and, as at the present time, Worcester College.)

THE BEGINNINGS

AN order so distinguished for scholarship and learning as that of S. Benedict could hardly keep outside the intellectual activities of Oxford. Students from Winchcombe Abbey were at Oxford as early as 1175. The earliest mention of Gloucester College appears to be in the record of a chapter of the Order held at Abingdon Abbey in 1275, when it was decided to erect buildings at Oxford where members of the Order from various monasteries might live and study together. For this purpose the income of every Benedictine monastery in the Province of Canterbury was assessed, first for the erection of buildings, and afterwards for maintenance purposes. Seven years later, at another chapter held at Abingdon, arrangements were entered into for 'the continuation of the buildings.'

JOHN GIFFARD'S BEQUEST

Through the abbey of S. Peter's, Gloucester, another scheme was formulated in connection with a benefaction of John Giffard, resulting in the founding at Oxford, in 1283, of chambers for the accommodation of thirteen monks from Gloucester Abbey.

When in 1278 William Brok, one of the student monks, took his doctor's degree, the first perhaps of his Order to do so, one hundred gentlemen, all the monks of his monastery, five distinguished abbots, and certain bishops, all came to Oxford to honour the event by their presence. Benedictines were not unwilling to spend money on such occasions, and in other ways too they encouraged their students. They provided for them an instructor in theology, and taught them to preach both in Latin and English, but they forbade them to mix freely with the seculars outside.

In 1290 the abbey, with the concurrence of John Giffard, agreed to combine its hostel with the Benedictine college founded in accordance with the proposal of the General Chapter of the Order in 1275. At another chapter, held on S. Benedict's Day, 1290, the Abbots of Bardeney, Evesham, and Winchcombe, and the Prior of Worcester, were appointed to undertake the establishment and management of the college. At Salisbury on March 26, 1291 (the day after the funeral of Queen Eleanor at Amesbury), several documents concerning the new college, including a licence to John Giffard to 'alienate in mortmain' certain property in favour of the prior and convent of the Order of S. Benedict at Oxford, were submitted to a General Chapter. It was doubtless intended that the college should be known as 'S. Benedict's,' but apparently seven years (1283-90) had made the name of 'Gloucester College' sufficiently popular to oust the more authoritative title. An agreement with Oseney Abbey as the parochial authority, on July 26, 1291, permitted the monks of Gloucester College to build a chapel for their own use, with the right of sepulture. For many years, however, there seems to have been only an oratory.

PRIORY OF THE ABBEY OF MALMESBURY

Within a few years of 1291, for some unknown reason, John Giffard thought it necessary to alter and modify his bequest, and in the last year of his life he annulled the deed by which he had given the college to the Benedictine Order and executed another in favour of Malmesbury Abbey. The Abbot of Malmesbury accordingly claimed the whole of the property, and in legal documents caused it to be described as the 'Priory of the Abbey of Malmesbury.' Licences to build on sites north and south of the college were granted by Malmesbury, and the abbot assumed the right to appoint the prior, while the fishponds, grounds, and meadows were reserved exclusively to Malmesbury students. The college as a body indignantly repudiated these claims, and the dual ownership was the cause of much conflict up to the fifteenth century when Malmesbury was able to successfully enforce sole rights of ownership.

PECULIAR FEATURES IN THE CONSTITUTION AND POLITY OF THE COLLEGE

There were many features in the buildings, constitution, and polity of Gloucester College which differed from other Oxford colleges. Legally it was not a corporate body, which made its position as to jurisdiction somewhat complicated. Its head was not appointed for life, and probably changes in this respect occurred almost annually. Each member of Gloucester College was subject in greater or lesser degree to several authorities, viz. his own monastery, the prior of the college, the University officials, the Abbot of Abingdon as

Visitor, the provincial chapter of the Order, and finally to both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope, each having some share of authority over the college. As a college expressly intended for students from monasteries, it was modelled and developed, not on the lines of other Oxford colleges, but according to the principles that governed Benedictine colleges in England and on the Continent.

The college had no endowment beyond the land on which it stood, and even this possession was peculiar, as it could not be claimed by the college as a body corporate. On the other hand, in case of need, it had almost unlimited funds to draw upon from the wealth of the various abbeys, and so it did not share the poverty which was prevalent throughout the University during the period immediately preceding the Reformation.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

In many details the college was incomplete for a long period after the foundation, and it is thought the original scheme was not fully carried out until 1337, when a bull of Pope Benedict XII promulgated the first rules of government. In the same year the benefits of Gloucester College were extended to monasteries in the York province.

Thomas de la Mare, whose rule in his great Monastery of St. Albans (1349-96) covered nearly half a century, sent up more than the required number of his monks to be 'educated in all kinds of knowledge.' He gave money freely for their lodging and support. He prevented Archbishop Courtenay from visiting the college. His successor built the first stone house for his students, next door to that of the Norwich monks. The next abbot made the house of the St. Albans men the finest in the college.

Out of the sixty-five abbeys and priories of the Benedictine Order in this country no less than thirty-eight can be definitely associated with Gloucester College, and sixteen of these had, at one time or another, 'cameras' or chambers there. These were Malmesbury, St. Albans, Gloucester, Pershore, Abingdon, Eynsham, Winchcombe, Norwich, Hyde, Tewkesbury, S. Augustine's and Christ Church, Canterbury, Glastonbury, Ramsey, Westminster, Worcester, and St. Edmundsbury. Though the abbots and priors of the monasteries were bound to send a certain number of their students to Oxford, as time went on many of them did so reluctantly.

Two events which must have affected Gloucester College were the founding of Canterbury College, Oxford, in 1361, and Buckingham College, Cambridge, as both were for Benedictines. It is thought that the number of students attending Gloucester College fluctuated considerably, one hundred being a fair average, which under favourable circumstances occasionally increased to one hundred and thirty.

THE BUILDINGS

The buildings, however, it has been estimated, were sufficient to accommodate about two hundred. The chambers occupied by the respective monasteries cannot all be accurately located, because it is known that several changed their lodgings at various times. S. Peter's, Gloucester, is probably the only abbey which retained the same quarters throughout its connection with the college. From 1371 to 1472 there is evidence to show that Abingdon, Westminster, Gloucester, Norwich, and St. Albans occupied chambers on the northern side. The existing chambers on the south side have been variously assigned to Pershore, Tewkesbury, Glastonbury, Winchcombe, Ramsey, Norwich, and Malmesbury; but much is very uncertain.

The chambers appropriated to the respective abbeys consisted of three rooms; the heraldic arms of the monastery responsible being in some cases over the entrance door. Examples of these arms are still to be seen on the existing houses on the south side of the quadrangle, viz. Malmesbury and Norwich. The westernmost house also displays a rebus—the letter W with a comb and a tun—said to be the device of William Compton, Abbot of Pershore (1504–27).

Over the large gateway to the north-east of the site, formerly the main entrance, are three shields with heraldic arms. Two represent Ramsey and St. Albans respectively, and the third is possibly Winchcombe.

John of Whethamstede, a famous fifteenth-century prelate, was prior of the college before he passed on to govern St. Albans Abbey. He enriched and completed buildings which his predecessor had begun, and was also responsible for the library¹ and the garden wall. A chapel and a refectory were already built or building. Abbot John noted that in one respect at any rate the chapel resembled Solomon's Temple, in having taken forty years to build.

The chapel was pulled down by royal mandate in the reign of Edward VI. Its site cannot now be located with any certainty, but there are records which show that it measured 40 feet by 20 feet internally. The library stood approximately where is now the modern entrance. The refectory was situated on the west side of the front quadrangle, and may be identified in Plate cxxi by its low saddle-back louvre. A kitchen and three 'cameras' were built about 1420; but many of the 'cameras' belonging to individual monasteries were built in still earlier years. To the east of the 'cameras,' and south of the present dining-hall, is a small and ancient quadrangle, believed to have been built on the site occupied by the Carmelites until 1314.

SOME NOTABLE MEMBERS

Among the more notable members of the college were John Feckenham, made Abbot of Westminster at the restoration under Mary (whose funeral

¹ His coadjutor in the library was his friend the famous Duke Humphrey, founder of Bodley's Library.

sermon he preached), and who was dispossessed and committed to the Tower by Elizabeth ; John Stanywell, last Abbot of Pershore ; John Wakeman, last Abbot of Tewkesbury and first Bishop of Gloucester ; Anthony Kitchin, last Abbot of Eynsham and subsequently Bishop of Llandaff ; Thomas Mylling, Abbot of Westminster, in which capacity he gave sanctuary to Elizabeth Woodville, and Edward V was born in his house.

EFFECT ON THE COLLEGE BY THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ABBEYS CONCERNED

From the middle of the fifteenth century to the early part of the sixteenth there were indications at Gloucester College, as in other like places, of lax discipline, and consequently deterioration of the monastic life. In 1534 a complaint against the college was made to Cromwell ; and three years later it is recorded that there were only thirty-two students. In 1539 the Abbot of Evesham gave intimation that he had been commanded by the Lord Privy Seal to appoint a governor of the college, and to provide an inventory of the chapel plate and furniture and certain other property.

Soon the monasteries which supplied Gloucester College with students were one after the other dissolved. The students' means of existence disappearing too, in 1540 the college as an institution for Benedictines necessarily came to an end and was appropriated by the Crown.

In 1541 there was granted to John Glin and John James, Yeomen of the Guard, in survivorship, ' the keeping or oversight of the mansion called Glocestre Colledge, without the suburbs of Oxford, late appertaining to divers religious houses now dissolved.' About the same time Edmund Powell of Sandford acquired three and a half acres of land called ' Gloucester College Close.'

RESIDENCE OF THE NEW BISHOP OF OSENEY

Soon, however, the college is proposed as the residence of the new Bishop of Oseney, the property being included in the formal grant of the temporalities of the see on September 1, 1542. Robert King, last Abbot of Oseney, first and only Bishop of Oseney, lived here from 1542 to 1545, when further changes involved the transference of the episcopal seat to Christ Church. For some unknown reason Bishop King when assigning the temporalities of the see to Henry VIII omitted Gloucester College, and this caused many complicated legal questions, which were prolonged for some seventy years. As late as the seventeenth century the Bishop of Oxford made claims to it which he could not enforce. Bishop Corbet in 1629 reopened the old quarrel in a characteristic letter. He knew his rights, but he knew also the poisonous ways of lawyers. The matter was not finally settled till Bishop Bancroft built Cuddesdon Palace.

Queen Elizabeth entirely disregarded the grant by Henry VIII to Bishop King and gave possession of the property to William Doddington, who immediately sold it to Sir Thomas White, the founder of S. John's College.

S. JOHN BAPTIST'S HALL

'For the like advancement of learning he, redeeming the said dissolved college from utter ruin, did purchase the same from our Sovereign Queen Elizabeth and therein did erect a house of learning by the name of the Principal and Scholars of S. John's Hall.' Again later he expended 'great cost in re-edifying the buildings that were utterly decayed.'

The new foundation was inaugurated on S. John Baptist's Day, 1560, the first principal (Dr. Stocke, a Fellow of S. John's) and one hundred students assembling in the old monks' refectory for the purpose.

GLOUCESTER HALL

A schedule of this date records that the premises then comprised a north and south range of seven chambers, each 16 by 12 feet; two other buildings on the north 20 by 18 feet; dining hall 60 by 30 feet, with an adjoining building 20 by 12 feet; and six small lodgings south of the hall, two below and four above, extending to a length of 30 feet by 16 feet in width. The area of the whole buildings measured some 80 by 60 feet. It is also recorded that on part of the site of the college 'John Williams of Thame had erected lodgings . . . lately wasted and fallen down.'

Thomas Allen (of Trinity) was an Elizabethan scholar who retired to Gloucester Hall and won there the reputation for mathematics and astrology which so perplexed his age. His servitor would declare that he sometimes met 'the spirits coming up his staires like bees.'

In September, 1560, the body of Amy Robsart, wife of the Earl of Leicester, whose sudden death had excited general suspicion, was disinterred that it might be reburied in S. Mary's Church. The body of the 'Ladie Amie' was secretly conveyed by night from Cumnor to Gloucester Hall,¹ and remained there until the burial at S. Mary's.

In 1563 Dr. Stocke vacated Gloucester Hall to become President of S. John's College, but after little more than a year resigned that dignity for fear of deprivation as he was *in animo Catholicus*, and retained his former office until 1573. At this time apartments in the college were let to tenants other than students. There were both men and women, all of good social standing. A list of 1572 includes twenty-two such persons, of whom fourteen were knights, and one an archdeacon. Among these tenants were Sir William and Lady

¹ Although it was apparently intended to rename the buildings S. John Baptist Hall, again the traditions of the old name triumphed, and as Gloucester Hall it continued to be known.

Catesby, the former being a notable Romanist, once at least being fined for recusancy. Lady Catesby had a daughter born in the principal's lodgings at this time.¹ Indeed one of the interesting features of the hall at this period was the number of Roman Catholics who resided there, and which gave it the reputation of being 'a hotbed of popery.' Entries in State papers indicate the suspicion attached to Gloucester Hall by the authorities. The first three principals were Romanists at heart if not openly professed, and between 1570 and 1580 a dozen or so of the most prominent Romanists in England were among the hall residents. It is, however, thought that the ordinary students were not Romanists.

For the next half century the hall flourished, more or less, in regard to numbers, but the buildings were, apparently, allowed to lapse into a sadly dilapidated state. About 1608, under Principal Hawley, a project having been formed to restore the ruined chapel, six trees were contributed by S. John's College, but it is doubtful whether anything was effected at the time.

In 1626 Dr. Degory Wheare was appointed principal and soon began to organize the work of restoring the buildings, but it would seem the mediaeval chapel had been too thoroughly devastated by Edward VI's commissioners to allow of its being rebuilt with the limited funds then available, and so a chapel of more moderate dimensions was provided. A later reference to this building indicates that it was more of a large oratory, although following the Oxford tradition of being divided into chapel and antechapel.

During the early part of Dr. Wheare's tenure of office the hall flourished exceedingly, for there were 'a hundred students . . . and some being persons of quality, ten or twelve went in their doublets of cloth of silver and gold.'

EFFECT OF THE CIVIL WAR ON THE HALL

At the time of the Civil War progress was retarded and students decreased. In 1644 it is recorded that Colonel Legge 'erected forges' at the hall for the making of swords and guns. Dr. Wheare died in 1647 and was succeeded by John Maplett, who was soon ejected by the Parliamentary visitors, Tobias Garbrand being appointed in his stead.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND RESTORATION PERIOD

During the Commonwealth the hall was devoid of students, but with the restoration of Charles II, and Maplett reinstated as principal, there was a revival, with at least five students.

Dr. Byrom Eaton succeeded as principal in 1662 and held the office for nearly thirty years. During the early years of his headship the hall again prospered, but from 1675 to 1678 there was not a single student in residence.

¹ See a note under Church Registers, p. 33.

In September, 1675, the impoverished institution was so much in arrears for taxes that it was threatened with being swept away bodily, building and all. The paths were then 'grown over with grass,' the 'way into the hall and chapel made up with boards,' and the place generally getting into a ruinous state. In 1687 there is a record of a burglary at Gloucester Hall by twelve armed men at night. It is said they stole 'the principal's plate and his daughters' petticoates and jewels, and drinking the young ladies' health before they carried off their spoil.' In 1692 Dr. Byrom Eaton resigned, and with that the history of Gloucester Hall practically ends.

GREEK HALL

In 1692, when Dr. Woodroffe (who had been successively Student, Canon, and Subdean of Christ Church) was elected principal, nothing could have been more dismal than the general aspect of the place. Yet within a week of his entry the work of repairing the buildings was again commenced. The magnitude of the work is indicated by contemporary records, one writer describing it as 'a rebuilding' and another says the new principal was 'erecting a new college at Oxford to be called Greek College.'

From the moment of assuming office Dr. Woodroffe appears to have been keenly interested in the establishment of a college for boys belonging to the Greek Church, with the avowed object of promoting the unity of Christendom; and it is possible that he was appointed for the purpose of converting Gloucester Hall into a Greek College, for the scheme had been under discussion for some fifteen years previous. The aim was that the college should consist of twenty youths (five from each Patriarchate of the Greek Church), who were to remain in Oxford for five years (or less); four to return every year, and replaced by four others. The lads were to be habited in the gravest sort of dress worn in their own country. The full scheme was probably never carried out, as it is thought the number of students never exceeded ten, while the financial difficulties early appeared to be almost insuperable. An appeal for aid to Queen Anne in 1702 was successful, and matters were better for awhile, but soon other troubles appeared through mismanagement, irregular students, and Roman intrigue. In 1704 the climax came by way of bitter controversy between the principal and one of his pupils, and from this time the hall again deteriorated.

WORCESTER COLLEGE

With all hopes rapidly disappearing as to any success of Greek Hall, Dr. Woodroffe negotiated with Sir Thomas Cookes and his trustees about converting the hall into Worcester College,¹ and eventually, on October 12, 1698, a charter for its foundation passed the Privy Seal. However, there were many obstacles,

¹ Worcester was the county where Sir Thomas Cookes resided.

legal and otherwise, before Sir Thomas Cookes' bequest (for he had meanwhile died) could be used for the purpose proposed. The difficulties were tedious and prolonged, but with Dr. Woodroffe's death, in 1711, they seem to have vanished. A notable feature of the delay was that the bequest, by way of accumulated interest, had increased to £15,000. New statutes with the charter passed the Great Seal on July 14, 1714, and fifteen days later the new provost (Dr. Blechyden) and the first six Fellows were admitted, and thus Gloucester Hall, after a precarious existence of one hundred and sixty-four years, ceased, and Worcester College began.

The breach of continuity was of the slightest, the change being practically that of name only, for the new Worcester College retained the old buildings, books, and plate of Gloucester Hall; the first provost of the college was the last principal of the hall, while the whole body of Commoners and one Fellow passed straight from hall to college.

A statement drawn up in 1707 in connection with the Cookes' bequest records that at Gloucester Hall the buildings, quadrangles, and gardens were of considerable area, and included 'capacious chambers,' principal's lodging in good repair, a large hall, chapel, buttery, and kitchen, and a large common-room 'lately wainscotted.'

THE NEW BUILDINGS

Unless this favourable account was in any way a misrepresentation, it would seem difficult to account for the destruction of property necessary for the rebuilding 'in the Ionic style' taken in hand by Dr. Clarke in 1720. Hearne, the antiquary, records on April 5, 1720: 'They have begun to pull down the old refectory or hall, which was a noble fine room, in order to build a new one.' The new chapel and library were both begun in 1720, but the former was not completed until about 1786, and the latter until 1746. Generally the chapel was designed, not only in dimensions but in the main details, as a replica of the dining-hall. Both interiors have, however, since been altered and restored, the chapel 1864 to 1870 and the hall in 1877. The chapel now is elaborately decorated. Dr. Daniel was mainly responsible for the decoration of both chapel and hall, carried out from the designs of William Burgess, and the former is considered to be the most important example in Oxford of the influence of the pre-Raphaelite school of artists.

Fortunately—it would appear—Dr. Clarke's complete scheme was never carried out, and hence several of the mediaeval 'chambers' are still standing. The whole of the existing buildings, ancient and modern, are practically grouped about one large quadrangle, with a smaller quadrangle at the south-east, known as Pump Quad. The north and east sides of the large quadrangle, built on a raised terrace, include the provost's lodgings, rooms for Fellows and under-

graduates, common-room, bursary, library, hall, and chapel, mostly built, as aforementioned, during the eighteenth century.

In 1741 ground to the south of the college was acquired, and further extended on the north-west in 1744. This property of mere swamp meadows was, about 1827, converted into gardens and are now exceedingly beautiful. An attractive feature is the large lake, which makes Worcester College gardens unique even for Oxford. Worcester too is the only college in Oxford which has a cricket field within its home area.

Among the later Provosts of Worcester College may be mentioned Dr. Cotton, Dr. Inge (father of the present Dean of S. Paul's), and Dr. Daniel, about whom further details are given on pages 132-4.

Until Beaumont Street was opened out in 1820 Worcester College was practically separated from the rest of the University and designated 'Botany Bay.' It could only be reached by a circuitous route through George Street or by the narrow alley still called Friars Entry.

In term-time the porter at Worcester still hammers upon the door of each staircase with a wooden mallet as in the Benedictine days.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS TO CHAPTER VI

PLATE

CXXI. From '*Oxonia Illustrata*,' by David Loggan, 1675.

In Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 1823, this detail is reproduced with key letters indicating the names of some of the old buildings, viz. (a) Chapel, (b) Refectory, (c) Principal's Lodgings, (d) Ruins of Old Chapel, (e) Ruins of Old Library.

CXXII. Printed in Skelton's '*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*,' 1823.

Represents the south front of the Provost's Old Lodgings, which formerly stood on approximately the same site as the present Lodgings built about 1740.

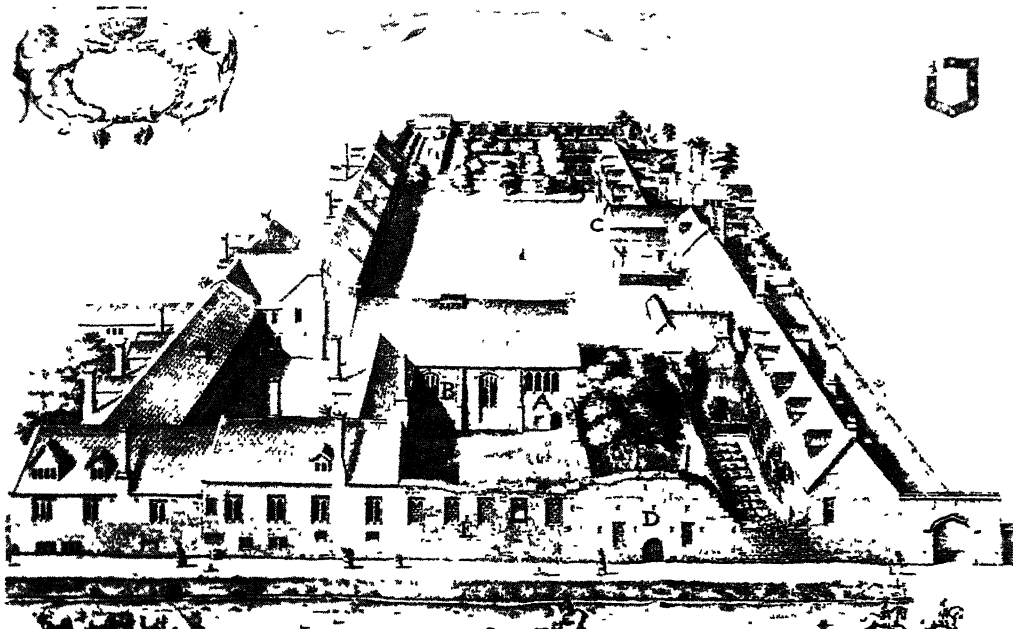


Plate CXXI—Gloucester Hall, 1675.



Plate CXXII—Principal's Old Lodgings at Gloucester Hall, c. 1710.



Plate CXXIII—Front of Worcester College and remains of Beaumont Palace, 1839.



Plate CXXIV—The old 'Cameras' on the south side, Worcester College, 1920.

PLATE

CXXIII. *From a drawing by G. Hollis. Printed in J. Ryman's Illustrations of Oxford, 1839.*

This is taken from Beaumont Street, showing that street in course of construction and ruins of Beaumont Palace in right centre.

CXXIV. *From a photograph by J. Soame.*

These buildings are equally picturesque, whether viewed from the gardens on the south or from the grass plot on the north, as here. Unfortunately nearly all the windows have been modernized by being robbed of their mullions, but an exquisite relic of traceried Perpendicular panelling in stone may yet be seen between one of the ground floor windows and that of the floor above it on the north front. The series of separate entrances, the disjointed roof ridges, of unequal pitch, and the absence of method in the size and spacing of the windows all afford instinctive witness that the aggregate is but a group of different residences, built on to one another without preconceived plan, by different hands, as occasion might prompt from time to time.

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